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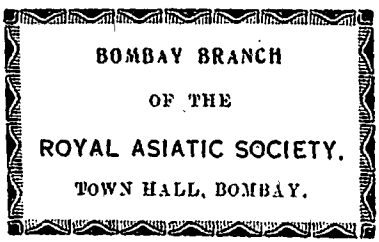

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT AND CABINETS

OF

GEORGE THE THIRD.

VOL. III.

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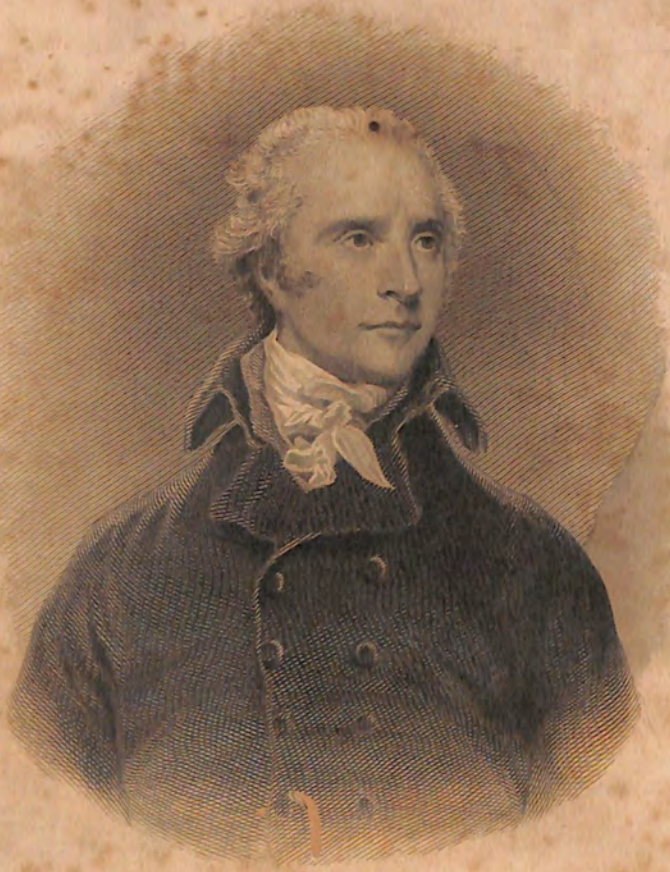

The Right Hon.ble Thomas Grenville
First Lord of the Admiralty

MEMOIRS

OF THE

COURT AND CABINETS

OF

GEORGE THE THIRD.

FROM ORIGINAL FAMILY DOCUMENTS.

BY

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THE DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM AND CHANDOS,
K.G.

VOL. III.

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solicitude was near and formidable: a narrow channel divided the coast of Great Britain from a powerful nation, which under a stimulus that had led it into the most frightful extravagances of political delirium, had rushed against its neighbours, with the object apparently of overthrowing that social order which was at once the fear and reproach of its government. Martial by instinct more than by education, the people of France readily became soldiers; and under generals, some of whom equally appear to have been *improvisé* by the exigency, threatened every kingdom within assailable distance. By far the most talented, as well as the most fortunate of these commanders, had not only established a supremacy over them, but had succeeded in placing himself at the head of the state, and under the name of First Consul of France, had just become the virtual sovereign of this warlike population, having its immense martial resources, and still more formidable military enthusiasm, entirely at his command.

Having attained this elevation, General Bonaparte was enabled to pause and take a survey of the obstacles that lay in the direction of the more arduous ascent he contemplated. Some were close at hand; for the nearest continental governments were either menaced or affected by the absorbing power of revolutionary France, and regarded the successful general who directed its energies with not less fear than hatred; and the policy of more than one, appeared to oscillate between the two feelings. The First Consul did not consider these as serious difficulties; but Great Britain, whose victorious fleets swept the seas in every latitude, and whose small, but formidable armies, were at several different points offering fierce

resistance to the further career of French conquest, he could not but acknowledge an obstacle in his path of an unusually formidable character. The capture of Seringapatam and the Dutch fleet, in connection with other important advantages recently gained by sea and land, as well as the alliance she had lately entered into with Russia and Austria—two continental powers of the first class—made a profound impression upon him; and he seems to have taken into earnest consideration the policy, for the the present at least, of seeking more amicable relations with her.

Soon after his installation into office, (Dec. 25) the First Consul had promised the people of France a durable peace. Peace-making, however, was so evidently not his vocation, that there must have been very few Frenchmen affected by the prospect of repose and happiness, such a promise suggested. This peace, he prudently explained, was not to be purchased at the costly expense of conquest, but to be produced by negotiation, conducted on principles of moderation. Before the more thoughtful members of his audience had finished speculating upon the object of this singular announcement, a letter had crossed the Channel, directed to "the King of Great Britain and Ireland," written by the First Consul, and forwarded by Talleyrand, his Minister for Foreign Affairs, to Lord Grenville.*

The feelings with which Lord Grenville perused this unexpected overture, may be gathered from the following note:—

* This document has frequently been printed, with the correspondence which it originated.—*Alison*, "*History of Europe.*" Chap. xxx., 1., ninth edition.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 1, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I send you for your New-year's gift a curiosity. I need not tell you that we shall say, no—I am occupied in studying how to say it in the manner the least shocking to the numerous tribe of those who hate the French and the Jacobins, but would to-morrow sign a peace that should put us at the mercy of both. God bless you.

Such a communication necessitated an answer, and in considering it, there were not only important interests to be consulted, at home and abroad; not only present advantages to be thought of, but a variety of possible contingencies, each of which might affect England and her allies. There is no doubt that Lord Grenville regarded the subject in all its bearings, with the comprehensive and penetrating scrutiny of a statesman. Two days later he sent the following hasty digest of the answer:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Jan. 3, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Being just setting out for Dropmore, and being just two hours too late for daylight to get there, I have only time to say that the answer is this morning finally settled, and will be dispatched to-day. It is long, but states in substance that the King has had to defend himself against the system, &c.—that he yet sees no security for the abandonment of that system, and cannot therefore now treat—that the best pledge of that abandonment would be the

restoration of the King,* &c.; but that this is not the only way to peace, and that whenever the King has sufficient security, &c., he will be ready to treat. I think you will like the paper supposing the line right, which I am satisfied it is, though I doubt not it will alarm some weak friends. From what I have heard here, the universal belief was that we should refuse to treat.

We are obliged to make so many copies, that I really fear we have not hands enough to make one before it is printed, which will be in a few days. If possible you shall have one before. God bless you.

The First Consul's communication, and Lord Grenville's reply, excited intense interest in England as soon as their purport became public. The different political parties of course took different views; and on the arrival of a second communication from Paris, addressed by Talleyrand to Lord Grenville, public excitement greatly increased. Lord Grenville refers to it in the following lines, evidently with little apprehension.†

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Jan. 16, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

We meet on Tuesday or on Wednesday, I deliver a message about Bonaparte's negotiation which I shall not propose to consider till the Monday following. We are I hear to have some

* Louis XVIII.

† In a letter from Mr. Pitt to the Speaker (Addington), printed in "The Life of Lord Sidmouth," by Dr. Pellew, he says:—"We have felt no difficulty in declining all negociation under the present circumstances, and have drawn our answer as a sort of manifesto both for France and England; bringing forward the topics which seem most likely to promote the cause of royalty, in preference to this new and certainly not less abso-

opposition motions, but I suppose they will hardly come on in the first week.

Simcoe's project is, I am clearly convinced, not worth pursuing. His Corsican Majesty's letters will be out on Monday. God bless you.

General Simcoe, named by Lord Grenville in the last paragraph, must be permitted to introduce himself. He had been Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, to which command he subsequently returned. Other communications from the General, have been printed in the published correspondence of the period.*

GENERAL SIMCOE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wolford Lodge, Jan. 2, 1800.

My Lord,

I feel myself highly indebted for the very kind letter and the friendship that has dictated it.

I certainly was disappointed at the Duke of Kent's being sent to Canada; his "paramount title" of course, exonerates the Ministry from the Duke of Portland's offer to me to succeed Prescot; but at the same time as I stated in my memorial, I trusted would confirm its prayer. Your Lordship well knows that my hopes were in common with other men, by the quality of my services, to establish my family in the honours of my country. That object has ceased. My next view, as a father, is at least

lute government; but taking care, at the same time, expressly to disclaim all idea of making the restoration of royalty, however desirable, the *sine qua non* of peace."

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth," by Dr. Pellew. Vol. I., p. 92.

to replace what I have expended on the public account; this I conceive a reversionary post would best perform with the least difficulty to Mr. Pitt and the Duke of Portland, in whose breasts I apprehend the arrangement *solely* lies. I should be proud could my claims, officially be submitted to Parliament; such a post for my son, would enable me by the kindness of my relations, not to leave my daughters destitute. In respect to Plymouth, I ask for it as a *reparation;* I have received no favour, but words, from the Ministers; the King is my sole benefactor. They owe me reparation for the scandalous report that I left St. Domingo without leave; this was visible in the Duke of York receiving me as a culprit and not as a victorious officer; and Mr. Pitt's acknowledgment that I had "completely satisfied him," is no reparation for the accusation. My letter is also written with a view to posterity. My principles at present may justify an honorable silence; but nothing can call upon me to sacrifice my fair claims for public estimation and posthumous reputation.

I have sent a copy of my letter to Lord Grenville; and his Lordship has returned me what I may venture to call a friendly answer; and though he says nothing on my claims, I shall not infer from that silence the want of his countenance in the pursuit of them. I have not heard either from Mr. Pitt or the Duke of Portland; I shall wait patiently till March for their answers, when, if I am not thought worthy of notice, I shall act accordingly. Your Lordship, I trust, will give me credit that nothing, but what I consider religiously due to my family, would induce me to solicit this patent from the King's Ministers. I have no reason to doubt but that I should have obtained it without difficulty, had I stooped to make it a stipulation before I went to St. Domingo —but such are not my principles or my practice. Enough of this subject.

I should be proud to cultivate the good opinion of Mr. Pitt, the Duke of Portland, or Lord Grenville; but how is this to be

attained? I have done my public duty, and am ready, as I recently stated, for any hazardous or difficult service. I have never had access to Lord Grenville; and the want of it to Mr. Pitt, I solemnly and conscientiously believe has lost St. Domingo. Mr. Wyndham knows that I am ready for service, but I am sure your Lordship would not have me make an unqualified offer to serve; such an offer would infallibly subject me to obey those of my seniors, whom I might think, neither from their private or public character, safe to act with. The failure of the Scotch-Dutch Expedition may be of service, by shewing the War Minister (whom I hold to be totally incompetent to any great arrangement) that something more than his fiat is necessary to form a general, and that red coats make not a soldier; and I hope the nation at large will profit from experience, and avoid those palpable errors which so unavoidably betrayed it into a scene of ignominy, that the consolidation of all our miscarriages for many many ages cannot equal.

I hope there will be no division of our force the next campaign. It is sufficient, (and I have thoroughly considered and digested my ideas,) with the exertions of our allies, and due co-operation with them, to restore the King of France. But neither Aulic councils nor Departmental governments, must fetter with their nonsense and arrogance those who are entrusted with the secret. I scarcely believe our government to be equal to any great enterprise; at this moment the absence of Mr. Dundas seems very favorable. I knew C. Stuart's supreme abilities; and I learn from him that he is in perfect health—yet, I think it more likely that those who govern, be they subalterns, or what your Lordship pleases, will sooner employ his namesake, just returned from the Indies. Earl Moira, also, is ready for service. With these two men, I should be proud to serve, and in short, under any good officer of experience; but that must be proved by other than Wimbledon campaigns. If the Ministry preferred me, under any circumstances, for St. Domingo, to my

cotemporaries, I have a right to expect they will do so now.

In respect to Cadiz; Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt have my plan. I destroyed the original when I went to America. I have reason to conjecture the late Lord Howe was made acquainted with it—it was to act by surprise; and on my passage from America, it formed the principle subject of my ruminations; and I was hurt when, on my arrival in England, I found Lord St. Vincent had bombarded the town, and that the Spaniards had anchored a gun-vessel off the place where I meant to land. Whether it would be practicable at present, I cannot say. I scarcely think it would fall by regular siege, and I am for concentring our force (so soon as it shall be animated with our ancient discipline) for greater objects. Sir H. Clinton and Lord St. Vincent reconnoitered the place before the American War, and I have, somewhere or other, their observations. If government thought it an object, I would of course, do my best; but what services can I expect to render equal to those which your Lordship had the goodness to state to the Duke of York, (and on which account I have been so unworthily treated) and that *now*, in a fuller shape, lay before the Ministers? I agree that the objects are not of a quality that I might reasonably aspire to, but I must act prudentially; my hours are wearing a-pace, and if I waste away in inaction, it has hitherto been to the loss of my country. I have spent my best days—and that most successfully, in their service; and whether I am considered as commanding the advance guard in a war for five years; or establishing a colony, and therein preserving Great Britain from a war, that ignorance or treachery had intended to involve her; or whether I am considered as a Commissary of Accounts at St. Domingo, I have a right to demand for my children, the hire, of which on all sides, I have been thought worthy.

It is possible the subject of my memorial, may force me to lay myself before the Duke of York or King, in March next, in

which case I shall certainly take Stowe in my way. Mrs. S. offers her best wishes and the compliments of the season to the Marchioness, and I am with the highest regard and respect,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's very faithful and obedient servant,

J. G. Simcoe.

N.B. I am as perfectly acquainted with *Brest,* as any man who has not been there. It is weak in respect to a siege on the land side.

Lord Grenville received another communication from France, and replied to the writer, the celebrated Talleyrand, in a manner that completely closed the correspondence.

From the numerous letters sent to Stowe at this period, these have been selected,—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 20, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I have just dispatched the answer, but too late to make it possible to copy it for you to-day. You shall have both to-morrow. Talleyrand's note is very moderate in its tone, but contains several weak points extremely open to attack; and is very indifferently drawn up—I thought otherwise at first, but I am confident my last impression is right.

Our answer is little more than repetition of the former note.

We shall have our debate upon it, Monday. I now think the Union will do. The Primate's* death is embarrassing,

* William Newcome, D.D., Archbishop of Armagh. His grace died on the 11th of January, aged seventy-one.

from the difficulty of finding a good successor to him on either bench.

Your's most affectionately,
G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 22, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I keep the letter of my promise by writing one line to you, but when I tell you that the Secretary* has hitherto been as silent as the Minister Burleigh, in the Critic, you will see that I cannot offer to you a very rich product from our conferences. He has never named the subject, either of the letter or the answer, but they are to be brought down to Parliament to-day, and I wait with patience for the formal communication of them; the idea is that our last answer refers very shortly to the former, which was in truth long enough for two; but in this quick return of Bonaparte to the charge, they may see here what they ought to have seen at first—that the greater anxiety they betray to avoid all negotiation, the more it will be pressed upon them by the Tricolor Consuls of Paris: meantime I am told that this French dose of negotiation begins to work a little upon the public mind here, and the strongest proof that it does so, is that Fox decidedly comes down on Monday, to assist and promote its more active operation. If all, however, continues to go on well in Ireland, I shall feel a tower of strength in that quarter; although the wind begins to rise upon the subject of Bonaparte's correspondence. Jemmy† tells me that Lord

* Lord Grenville.

† James Grenville, created Baron Glastonbury, 20th October, 1797. He died in 1826.

Romney* is very much dissatisfied with the English answer, and I hear the same of Lord Carlisle,† and some others, but I know not yet to what extent; I have desired Jemmy to pacify the Drover, for he would do much mischief if he was obstreperous.

Wellesley‡ is come from India, and has brought Lady Grenville a lion's head of gold, and part of Tippoo's throne; he has also brought a Madras publication of many of Tippoo's papers, which are extremely curious; I presume that you have received one from Lord Mornington.

God bless you dearest brother. I trust that this new stir of opposition will bring you as you said it would, to oppose the opposers.

Ever your's affectionately,

T. G.

The Negotiation question with us will be on Monday next; the Dutch Expedition on 3rd February.

In the two houses of the legislature, the Bonaparte correspondence became a prominent feature in the debates, towards the close of the month. The King sent a message to the House of Commons—read by the Speaker on the 22nd—which in consequence of the sudden indisposition of Mr. Pitt, could not be taken into consideration till the 3rd of February. In the Lords, Lord Grenville introduced the subject on the 28th, in a speech of three hours length, which so completely satisfied the House, that although an amendment to the address, moved by his Lordship, was proposed by the Duke of Bedford, and seconded by Lord Holland,

* Charles, third baron, created Viscount and Earl of Romney, March 22nd, 1801. He died March 1, 1811.

† Frederick, fifth earl. He died Sept. 4, 1825.

‡ Henry Wellesley (Lord Cowley).

with an ample proportion of strictures on the ministerial policy, only five peers could be induced to vote with the Duke, and the address was carried without a division.

The Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland, now divided public attention with the late negociation; and in the progress of this important measure no one took a deeper interest than the Marquis of Buckingham. The various communications addressed to him, from Ireland and England, convey an animated picture of the excitement it created in both countries.*

In carrying out the objects of the Marquis, no one was more active than the distinguished writer of the following letter, who had succeeded Mr. Pelham as War Secretary for Ireland in the preceding year; indeed, if the merit of bringing the projected Union to a successful issue could be attributed to one man, it must be accorded to the exertions of Lord Castlereagh. By such labours, while advancing the greatest political work, with reference to the consolidation of the British Empire, accomplished at this period, he laid the foundation of a reputation as a statesman, that must long maintain a prominent place among the historic monuments of the nineteenth century.

VISCOUNT CASTLEREAGH TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.†

Dublin Castle, 8th Jan., 1800.

My dear Lord,

I have postponed thanking your Lordship for your very kind

* See also "The Correspondence of Viscount Castlereagh," edited by his brother, the late Marquis of Londonderry.

† The letter to which this is an answer is printed in the "Memoirs and Correspondence of Lord Castlereagh." Vol. III., p. 23.

answer to my letter, being in daily expectation of Pakenham's return from Westmeath. I find from him that the Declaration as originally sketched has been very generally signed, and that Governor Nugent had put your name to it. I shall of course take care that it shall not be published without your authority for doing so, and I much lament that the Declaration was not simply confined to the great object in question.

I am truly sensible of your Lordship's kind offers of assistance in the important cause in which we are embarked; the deep interest your Lordship takes in its success will make you learn with satisfaction that our prospects are very favourable indeed. The opposition will probably move an amendment to the address on the first day, and I am happy to assure you, that notwithstanding we have thirty-five seats vacant, I feel no apprehension of the issue. Your Lordship will oblige me very much by intrusting some friend with your proxy in the Lords, as we cannot hope for your personal assistance.

I have the honour to remain,
My dear Lord,
With perfect respect,
Your sincere humble servant,
CASTLEREAGH.

THE RIGHT HON. ISAAC CORRY TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, Jan. 9, 1800.

MY LORD,

The day after my arrival I received the honour of your Lordship's letter, and entreat that you will permit me to return my acknowledgments for the flattering manner in which your Lordship is so good as to notice my not having paid my respects at Stowe.

I have postponed one post answering, with a view of conversing on the subjects mentioned by your Lordship with Lord Castlereagh,

but you will readily believe that his time is so engrossed by personal interviews, that it is impracticable to get him into serious consideration of that nature till after the adjournment, which will take place on the Saturday; before which he will of course not go into the business.

The preparation for the first day is carried on on both sides with every possible exertion; and I was happy to hear on my arrival, on the part of government with great success. The opposition talk highly, but I hear that the Speaker acknowledges their being totally beaten. Their efforts are notwithstanding continued, and this day brings the account of Grattan* being again returned, though in very weak and uncertain health. The Session is not likely to be the more temperate for his appearance in the House, and there is every prospect of great violence taking place in debate, particularly at the opening. Grattan is returned for the Borough of Wicklow, Mr. Tighe's.

Your Lordship may be assured of my sending the numbers on the first division, and I have already told Cooke† I shall give him my letter to send by his messenger.

Immediately on the meeting, the transfer of Militia to the line of 10,000 men, will be moved.

Your Lordship will accept of my thanks for giving me any opportunity of sending anything you may desire from hence, and the more you will commit to my care, the more your Lordship will confer a gratification upon me.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your faithful and obliged, obedient humble Servant,
ISAAC CORRY.‡

* The celebrated Henry Grattan. He died 14th May, 1820.

† Mr. Edward Cooke, afterwards private secretary to Viscount Castlereagh, when Secretary of State. Many of his letters have been printed in the Castlereagh Correspondence.

‡ He succeeded Sir John Parnell as Chancellor of the Exchequer of Ireland.

MR. EDWARD COOKE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, 30th January, 1800.

My dear Lord,

I received the honour of your Lordship's letter with an inclosure for Admiral Pakenham. He has without doubt written to your Lordship on the subject, and explained the reasons which I fear may prevent your name being at the head of the subscribers in favour of Union in Westmeath. It has been an untoward business, and there has been much waywardness on the subject.

As our Session approaches, I think our strength increases; and my own opinion is, that our majority is firm and sufficient; but your Lordship will always imagine there must be uncertainty and danger where an Irish House of Commons is concerned.

Our news yesterday was, which is to day confirmed, that Grattan is to come in upon a vacancy in Mr. Tighe's Borough of Wicklow. I know that he recently declined all overtures on account of his health, which I understand is weak and precarious; but he has been since prevailed upon by his imprudent friends to make a last effort. If he shall really come into the House, it will occasion much ferment; but I think cannot be prejudicial to the great cause. The manner of treating him will be matter of great delicacy.

I think our attendance will be very full; and opposition will move an amendment. We have thirty friends out of Parliament, but I think we can afford it.

I hear not of any extraordinary measures being in contemplation by opposition, nor that a riot is organizing; but the shopkeepers are in general so adverse, that I make up my mind to a little bustle.

I hope the Catholics will remain firm, though all attempts are using to shake them, and probably some division will appear.

The Orangemen will not take a part as Orangemen; but they

are in general adverse. Their opposition checks the United Irishmen.

The town is certainly very tranquil, and I believe the country is in general as favourable as could be wished.

I am ever with the truest respect,
My dear Lord, your Lordship's,
Much obliged and devoted servant,
E. Cooke.

13th Jan.

P.S.—To day opened a little of intention in opposition; a stolen Meeting of about 200 Catholics was held at the Exchange. The resolutions were violent—Moore, a known rebel, a jeweller, in the Chair; some respectable men present, not many.

We shall have an aggregate Meeting on Wednesday against Union; which is a prelude to a riot, which, however, will not take place. This is *in terrorem*.

I think Grattan's coming in will do us good.

E. C.

MR. C. M. WARBURTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ely Place, Wednesday Night, 15th Jan., 1800.
Half-past eleven o'clock.

My Lord,

I am just come out of the House of Commons to save the mail, and congratulate your Lordship upon the perfect tranquillity of the town, and the very good prospect of the House. In the House of Lords, not one word of opposition to the addresses.

Sir L. Parsons moved an amendment in the Commons, "that the constitution of 1782 should remain untouched, &c., &c.," It is now in debate; but it probably will not last long, for

G. Ponsonby* has spoken, and others of their leaders with less effect than usual. The complexion of the House is evidently against them. An adjournment takes place for a fortnight, in which time the government will very much add to their strength.

Every pains has been taken to stir up the populace in any way, but I have just now walked from the Parliament House, and not twenty people in the streets. Lord Bective† moved the address to the King. Lord Glentworth‡ to the Viceroy. Lord Loftus§ in the House of Commons.

Your Lordship's faithful,
And obedient servant,
C. M. Warburton.

On the following day, Mr. Edward Cooke writes from Dublin:—

My dear Lord,

Our debate on the address ended at half-past eleven this morning, with a majority of 42—138 to 96. Sir L. Parsons opened with an amendment to maintain the Constitution of 1782; Savage, Lord Downshire's|| member seconded him. The debate was warm and personal, well maintained on our side in excellent spirit and tone. The galleries quiet. The Speaker very correct. No clamour in the House. Lord Castlereagh, the Attorney-General, Mr. Fox and the Prime-Serjeant spoke very well and

* George Ponsonby, Lord Chancellor of Ireland in 1806, and afterwards leader of the opposition in the Imperial Parliament. He died in 1817.

† Thomas, second earl, created Marquis of Headfort in the December of this year. He died 24th October, 1842.

‡ Edward Henry, second baron, created Viscount and Earl of Limerick, Feb. 11, 1803, and Baron Foxford, in the English peerage, 11th August, 1815. He died Dec. 7, 1844.

§ Created Marquis of Ely in the following December, and Baron Loftus in the English peerage 19th January, 1801.

|| Arthur, second marquis. He died September 7, 1801.

carried the war into the enemy's quarters. Ponsonby, Bushe, Parnell* and Plunkett† were their debaters and did their best. Grattan who had been elected for Wicklow at midnight came in about eight in the morning, feigned to be very ill and having asked leave to speak sitting, he gave us a harangue in his old style, of two hours, all directed at Mr. Pitt, accusing him as a traitor against Ireland, &c.—talking of America, &c. Corry behaved well in reply, and took up Grattan excellently and had good effect. We had above thirty vacancies, and all our writs are moved. We shall have a most severe struggle, but if we can keep the country right, all will do.

On the 16th, Mr. Warburton writes:

My Lord,

The debate lasted till eleven o'clock this morning, owing to Grattan's taking his seat about seven, and speaking for two hours; but with an effect very different from his former harangues, though with full as much sedition and mischief. He was very well answered by Isaac Corry and the house divided—for Sir L. Parsons' motion 96, against it 138, majority 42; which will be doubled by Monday fortnight, when the Articles are to be laid before Parliament. G. Ponsonby was uncommonly flat; Bushe (the lawyer) made a long and wicked speech, all tending to separation; upon the whole, the business has now opened favourably, and I trust in God, it will end quietly.

Acheson could not bring himself to contradict his last year's vote; but Colonel Cope divided with government—my squire of Ardagh (Sir T. Fetherston) was also prevailed upon to change his opinion and support the Union.

* Sir John Parnell. He had filled the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1787, and was a Lord of the Treasury in 1793. He died in 1801. His second son was created Baron Congleton in 1841.

† William, first baron. He held, at different times, the offices of Solicitor-General, Attorney-General, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Augustus has not yet made his appearance, nothing of our new Primate has transpired.

On the same day, General Nugent* sent the Marquis the following additional particulars:—

The speakers were, as well as I can recollect, Lord Loftus and Lieutenant-Colonel Crosbie, who moved and seconded the Address; Sir L. Parsons, who moved the Amendment; Lord Castlereagh, G. Ponsonby, Attorney-General, Mr. Bushe, Mr. Plunkett, Prime-Serjeant, Mr. Fox, Egan, Corry, David Latouche, and other inferior members. At half-past seven this morning, Mr. Grattan arrived with his writ from Wicklow, to the surprise of every one, (having been elected immediately after twelve o'clock last night, and having set off post haste to take his seat,) and sat on the opposition bench to make an inflammatory speech of at least two hours, which was ably answered by Mr. Corry. Many of the opposition seemed to be ashamed of their new colleague, and encouraged him very little indeed. This speech I think *sentait de l'apoplexie extrêmement*. I congratulate you, my dear Lord Buckingham, most sincerely, on the good effects which are likely to result from the Union, and which nothing now can well prevent from being completed.

Mr. Edward Cooke again addressed the Marquis of Buckingham on the 28th:—

I have often considered of the difficulty of trying at Westminster the contested elections of Ireland: and it has also occurred to me that there is much objection to a Bill which is to operate locally, and not generally. My idea is, that the Grenville Act should be altered generally. It is a most excellent Act as to the insuring a just determination, but it is ruinously expensive

* George Nugent, a general in the army, created a Baronet in 1806. He was Governor of St. Mawes.

even in English contests. My idea is, that all questions of fact should be tried before the Sheriff, assisted by proper assessors; and that all questions of right should be tried before a select committee. I know there are numerous objections to this mode, but I see no alternative, and I think that making the tribunal as little expensive as possible would reconcile people to an alteration.

The party are very active. They have prevailed on Lambert and Colclough to refuse returning the nominees of two friends of government, to whom they had sold their seats for seven years. They are making large subscriptions in Dublin, to purchase seats and bribe members; we may lose one or two in this way. There are tendencies to combination among the trades, and menaces of tumult and insurrection; and I should fear some riot would take place. The Jacobin party of the Catholics are coming forward against us.

You hear of the circular letters sent into all the counties to call County Meetings, signed by Downshire, Charlemont, Mr. Ponsonby; I do not think their efforts will be of much effect. All depends upon the effect of Lord Castlereagh's statement, which I think must be favorable. I will send to your Lordship my idea of the impression it makes.

LORD CARYSFORT* TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, 2nd Feb. 1800.

My dear Lord,

The subject you mention is of great importance, and I am well aware of great difficulty. I have often thought about it, but nothing has hitherto occurred to me, which was at all

* John Joshua, second baron, created earl 18th August, 1789, and Baron Carysfort, in the peerage of England, 13th January, 1801. His second wife was Elizabeth, sister of the Marquis of Buckingham. Lord Carysfort was shortly afterwards appointed ambassador to the Court of Prussia.

satisfactory to my mind. I perfectly agree with you, that it should if possible be settled previously to the Union, but I fear that the ultimate decision of contested elections, by any other tribunal than a Committee of Parliament, would be considered as an innovation of such magnitude, that it would not be agreed to. The only idea I can suggest, grounded upon the principle you recommend, and obviating in some degree, the objection just stated, is that a number of Commissioners should be appointed, and divided into lists, not more than five nor less than three in each list, one of them to be a judge of some of the superior Courts of Record, and to preside. This tribunal should be put in action by an order of the House, grounded on a petition complaining of an undue election, and its authority should extend to hear counsel on both sides, upon evidence to be taken *vivâ voce* in open court, with cross-examination. The whole of the evidence, with the arguments of counsel to be taken down and certified, with their opinion, by the court, to the House. The report when authenticated, to be referred by the House to a Committee, chosen in the usual mode, who should confirm, or disallow the opinion of the Commissioners. The resolution of the Committee to be final. By such a mode as this, there would be a fair trial, and at the least expense, and the ultimate decision would rest with the House. The profits of this branch of litigation would also be reserved to the Irish Bar, and such a prospect might a little soften their opposition. I have often urged the necessity of attending to this subject, but should have taken upon trust whatever might have been offered, if your letter had not called upon me to form some specific opinion. I shall talk with Corry and Lord Castlereagh about it, though I take for granted they will have already formed some general plan; but in pursuance of your idea, I shall press its being finally settled, *in limine*, and not left for consideration and discussion in the United Parliament.

The opposition have hitherto received so little countenance in

the country, that I am induced to change my mind as to the probability of tumult. I really believe if Parliament can be managed, that the Union will pass very quietly, but the majority which has been bought at an enormous price, must be bought over again, and perhaps more than once, before all the details can be gone through.

Adieu, my dear Lord,

Ever most affectionately yours,

CARYSFORT.

George Canning was now striving for prominence in the front rank of Parliamentary debaters, for which he evinced striking qualifications. The following estimate of him, however, was very nearly correct. With talents of a very high order, he possessed characteristics that placed him, as will be shown, more than once in embarrassing positions.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 4th Feb., 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Lord G. has been so much occupied by the storm and tempest of foreign mails that I have not yet had any opportunity of conversing with him respecting the *solution* which you seem to think is found to the obvious difficulty of the Trials for Controverted Elections. Whether his mind will be easily made up to the sort of radical cure which is suggested in the Repeal of the Grenville Bill, I know not; whether the House may more readily adopt the repeal of the whole than they did the useful alterations which were suggested for the better means of retaining it, I am equally ignorant; whether Pitt and Dundas will protect this new project as effectually as they supported mine, or whether they will really and earnestly struggle for the repeal, I

cannot guess; but I think both you and William will probably agree with me in the opinion that for me no other conduct can be left than that of resisting as much as I can the proposed repeal, and fruitless as that resistance may be on my part, I shall not on that account, be less zealous or strenuous in the part which it must be for me to take upon it. The House dares not gratify its idleness by repealing the Bill, but I very much apprehend that they will be well contented to defeat it by a side-wind, and to surrender it as a supposed obstacle to the practicability of complete and perfect union. It will be our business, as I apprehend, whenever the determination of government is known, to devise some mode which may be offered to the House, by which the practice of the Bill may be reconciled to the arrangements of the Union, in order that our adversaries may not have the advantage of stating that the Bill cannot stand with the measure of the Union. When I have talked this over with William, I will write more to you on the subject.

I am still weary with the debate of last night; which, though it lasted till four offered nothing new, either in the discussion, the numbers, or the persons who composed them. Pitt's was a good speech, and exposed Erskine* sufficiently to the satisfaction of his friends and his enemies; Fox had many good points, was unusually temperate, but I have often heard him speak better and with better effect. Canning was as usual—that is to say, with great indications of talents for speaking, but with a want of judgment and an affected vehemence, which told more than one should expect against the merit of his arguments and of his language. The House seemed fully satisfied with the address, and all that was said upon it. No news that I hear. Winthorp has the stag, and York the new Jason. God bless you dearest brother; I rejoice that I live, because I live happy in the affection of all whom I love, and in that list you are indeed of the first.

* Raised to the peerage in 1806, when promoted to the office of Lord Chancellor of England.

P.S. The Primacy is offered to Randolph who demurs, but this is still a secret. Lord G.* offers the government of Jamaica to Lord Carysfort, and writes to-day for that purpose to him; but this is likewise to be a profound secret till his answer is known.

Lord Carysfort wrote to the Marquis, four days later, from Dublin :—

I send you my ideas upon the Trial of Controverted Elections, a little more detailed. Upon consideration, I thought it best that the evidence only should be taken here, and the cause heard entirely by a Committee of the House, in England. For if the evidence is taken in the country, the expense under that head will be so much lessened, that the candidate will have no reason to complain if the fees to his counsel and agent should be a little increased, and by this mode the jurisdiction of the House will be completely saved.

You will have seen the division on Thursday last, in the House of Commons; the majority is less than was expected, but I still think it is sufficient; for after the most accurate investigation, assisted by a person who knows the House very well, I can make out no more than eight on our side who are not entirely to be depended upon, but we know them to be well inclined, and to be standing out for terms, so that I am sure we shall not lose more than two or three of them. There are eight of the twenty-two, who were absent on the last division, declared and stanch (with one exception) friends to the measure, who were not returned in time to take their seats; four will in all probability be absent, two only are declared for opposition, and the remaining eight will, if not all, yet most of them, be with government; but a notion has gone abroad and spread amongst our friends, that the Ministers are intimidated, and I am very sorry that our friend

* Lord Grenville.

Lord Clare,* instead of taking the opportunity which the delivery of the Lord-Lieutenant's message gave him to declare the firm determination of government, upon seeing that not one opposition lord was present, (indeed there were not ten peers in the house,) read the message without saying a word upon it, put the questions for taking it into consideration on Monday, adjourned, and left the house; so that when the opposition came down at less than twenty minutes past four, he was already gone. Lord Bellamont† has charged me to send you a pamphlet he has published, but to do it as from myself, and to tell you it is only part of his plan, which goes to regulate the contribution to the defence of the empire and the trade, pretty much in the same manner as is now proposed by government. He also requires that I shall communicate to him your opinion upon his plan. I trust we shall supersede it by the Union, but one cannot help smiling at the absurdity of a man, who professes himself fully assured of the concurrence of all Dublin, and of two counties, —all that he has had time to consult—to establish by an Irish Act, the complete supremacy of the British Parliament. Lord Downshire has had the madness, it is said, to tamper with his regiment. I am assured the fact has been ascertained, and he has been in consequence dismissed.

Mr. Thomas Grenville and Lord Grenville sent the following communications on the 10th and 19th :—

The Secretary has continued to be so occupied with his own mails and his own business that I have scarce had a moment's conversation with him this last fortnight; but upon mentioning to him the subject of the Election Bill and the apprehensions which you had entertained of its repeal in order to solve the difficulties of this part of the Union, I found him very eager to

* John Fitzgibbon, first earl, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, created Lord Fitzgibbon in the English Peerage. He died 28th January, 1802.

† Charles Coote, first earl, died Oct. 20, 1800.

maintain that the appointment of assessors to try questions of fact at the Country Quarter Sessions would be an improvement of the Election Bill with respect to England as well as to Ireland; but I found him still more intent upon preventing any prior discussion taking place, or any claim for Ireland being made a condition and stipulation of the Union. He thinks that the United Parliament may make any sort of arrangement or exception respecting Ireland as well after the Union, as it could be made by any previous discussion; and he farther objects vehemently to embarrassing the question of the Union by additional conditions and stipulations. I have much doubt whether I should think the Grenville Bill improved by the Country Trials of which he speaks, and I continue to think that in England it will not be found easy after the Union, for the United Parliament to institute one mode of trial for its British members, and another for its Irish; but his last objection is, I think, a reasonable one, and if any previous discussion of this sort shall really embarrass the important question of Union in Ireland, it must fairly be allowed that this consideration is one of extreme weight and importance. Upon the whole, therefore, I think I see it is the intention of government to put by as much as they can the difficulties of detail until they have secured the main object. That desire appears to be well-founded, but it will require some judgment in the practice, because, in a case where the whole difficulty lies in the detail, I do not see how the consideration of the detail can be very reasonably postponed. I doubt whether the members of the last Irish division are such as had been expected, but I am glad to believe that the English government, at least, is disposed to pursue the question stoutly and vigorously, and not to spare any unlawful opposition, although it should be found in the person of Lord Downshire, who, by public report, I hear, is endeavouring to procure military petitions from military bodies against the Union.

I do not entirely understand the present state of our foreign

politics. It is generally believed that Russia has again withdrawn its troops from Austria, and I apprehend this will be found to be true, and therefore that William is in no danger of seeing Suwarow at the head of 100,000 Russians. What I hear of the Chouans looks more like peace than war, and I have reason to think that Pellew* has not, and perhaps will not, land the last stores of arms, &c. Our twenty sail have sailed, and I hope their last absence from Brest will tempt the French fleet to come out, in which case we shall have a knock at them. Captain Newman and Lieutenant Proby are said to have taken a French forty-four, which they were sent to watch off St. Maloes; there is no official account, but there is good reason to believe it. The Dutch inquiry is not expected to last long to-night. Fox does not attend, no more does Grey.

God bless you, my dearest brother. I have received some very pretty verses from George, and I enclose to you my best acknowledgments for them. Pray give him, with my note, a kind kiss, for his warm recollection of his starved uncle.

The Duke of P.† has offered the primacy to Randolph; but this is, as yet, to be a secret. I am trying to persuade him to take so great an offer, but doubt whether I shall succeed. Do not speak of it as yet.

Randolph has finally refused, and the offer will be made to the Bishop of Chester. I imagine it will be wished that one of us shall first sound him; but on this point I expect to hear from the Duke of Portland before I take any step.

Will he accept? and thought he, considering his family and health?

I have an idea of proposing to Lord Carysfort to go to Berlin, which will, at least, be pleasanter than Jamaica, though not so lucrative by a great deal.

You see Union will do.

* Afterwards Lord Exmouth. † Duke of Portland.

The great struggle between the government and the Irish opposition was carried on with the more vehemence, as the measure which threatened the political extinction of the latter, advanced towards completion. The letters that follow contain a pretty accurate picture of the state of excitement to which both parties had arrived on the 20th of February. Mr. Thomas Grenville wrote to Lord Buckingham:

I know that you have more frequent Irish intelligence than I have, but I write, nevertheless, one word to tell you that I have just seen a letter of Cooke's of the 18th, describing everything as going on prosperously, after a division of 161 to 115. Grattan was so personal, that Corry challenged him; they have fought, and Corry is wounded in the arm, but not badly. This last division is considered as decisive. Randolph refuses the Primacy. By what I hear, I shall not be surprised if I am desired to offer it to Cleaver, or to sound him whether he would take it. I presume that he would not, and, in truth, I think his prospect is fairer here. I know not whether Bangor be worth his having, but I imagine he had rather wait for Wells or Worcester.

The next day Lord Carysfort wrote:

I am not sure whether you had received, when you wrote to me on the 16th, a more detailed plan, which I had sent to you after the first slight sketch I gave you. I found strong objections would be made to the Commissioners pronouncing any judgment except upon the admissibility of evidence, as trenching too much upon the jurisdiction of the House; but I think the material point is answered, if a cheap and fair mode of taking the evidence is provided. William suggests that it would be an improvement to allow either party, if he chooses to be at the expense, to bring

the witness before the Committee, and I agree with him, as well as with you, in your scheme for appointing Commissioners, and selecting by ballot those who are to sit on each case. I cannot, however, prevail on anybody here, or in England, to make any regulation on this subject a previous step. It is to be reserved for the United Parliament. I foresee some difficulties in Parliament upon many of the details of the Articles of Union, particularly in those which relate to commerce and finance, and am apprehensive that Foster's cunning, operating upon the stupidity of some, and combining with the duplicity of others, may prevail to insert something which England cannot agree to, and thus defeat, or very much delay, this important measure. I think with you, that Castlereagh's speech was not a good one. He talked a great deal of nonsense about Parliamentary Reform, and has furnished a weapon against himself, by setting in an odious light the compensation for the boroughs, and if an idea should get abroad that government will not be able to realise the hopes they have held out on that head, it will occasion many to change sides.* But, upon the whole, I think there is reason to be very sanguine that the measure will be carried, in all its parts.

Our friend Lord Downshire's folly has not been contagious. Lord Cornwallis acted with a promptness and decision that did him credit, and effectually prevented the mischief from spreading.† In the debate in the House of Lords, you may imagine that the proceedings on the Regency were pretty frequently mentioned. Old Farnham candidly acknowledged how improperly they had acted in censuring you, and protested that they never should have done what they did, if they had not credited a report that the Prince of Wales was actually appointed Regent in England. This gave me as good an opportunity as I could desire of clearing

* It is probable that Lord Castlereagh knew the temper of his audience.

† Lord Downshire was dismissed from all his employments.

my account with the actors in that honourable transaction, and I hope I used it with good effect. The Chancellor's speech was admirable, but in some passages he expressed himself rather too strongly against the Roman Catholics; but as the speech will be published, under his direction, he will take care that no handle shall be given for misrepresenting the intentions of government with regard to that party. The rebels all over the country begin to show themselves, but I think government is too well prepared to be under any apprehensions from them. I hope to make my escape, for a time, next week.

From the Right Hon. Isaac Corry came the following communication, dated Feb. 25th:—

Fully penetrated by your Lordship's goodness to me, I am of course unable to express any suitable acknowledgments for the extreme kindness you have bestowed upon me in your obliging letter. To say truth, it is unpleasant pastime with unpleasant company that I have been engaged in, and I trust that I shall not cut into such a party again in haste.

Were your Lordship to know how we have been run to the top of our speed by busy days and late mornings in the House of Commons, you would pardon the omission most involuntary of those who at all times are happy to be indulged with your Lordship's communications, amongst the foremost of whom I claim my humble rank; and when you add to that consideration the additional throes of an impending Budget, with which I am pregnant, you will, I trust, account fully for my being deprived of the gratification of writing to you. To-morrow I state the Ways and Means, which it is prudent should be calculated with some attention to the temper of the time; expediency, a bad governing principle, is sometimes a good and necessary exception to better principles, and we are tightly put to.

Union, however, undoubtedly is not losing ground, either in

or out of doors, notwithstanding that clamour is excessive; and all manner of efforts are made in resistance to it. Mr. G. Ponsonby's motion for Thursday, is an address to the King against the measure, or for a dissolution of parliament.

Your commands make me trouble you, to say that I am getting on well, though the accident* causes me to leave the House when hot or late, for a few days.

I had the honour of sending directed to your Lordship, enclosed to Lord Grenville, Lord Castlereagh's speech; and a pamphlet of our excellent writer Smith, son of the Baron of Exchequer and in Parliament, a letter to Mr. Grattan.

THE RIGHT HON. CHARLES HENRY COOTE, TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stephen's Green, 27th Feb. 1800.

My dear Lord,

While I observe the progress we make in the important measure of Union, I always think of the interest your Lordship feels for its final success, and of my obligations to you for your advice, and the influence you had on me.

Our majority has been usually about forty-six, poor Corry's wound having produced some slight fever yesterday has, as yet, prevented the discussion on the Article of Commerce—on the subject of it, I enclose your Lordship a few memorandums I have made.

The rancour and animosity, which prevail among those who oppose us, your Lordship will guess from your knowledge of events, and of parties here.

I now, however, look forward with confidence to our final success and triumph, and it can alone be the fault of government if we do not succeed. The leaders of opposition expect it will be marred in England.

* His wound.

I have given to goverment the aid and support of our friend Colonel Dunne—my brother was inflexible, and would not come over to assist us. I was opposed in my borough, and had some difficulty and expense, partly from the clamour and fever of the day, and partly from the fanatical rage of Sir John Parnell's politics, which made the ignorant shopkeepers of Dublin suppose I must be frustrated, and a subscription purse was sent down against me; neither their bribery, nor their popular frensy overturned me, and I returned Dunne although absent from me, and he now cooperates with us in the important work of Union.

I have been influenced to intrude on you, my dear Lord, to communicate what will give you some pleasure. Lord Mountrath* has, in a most obliging manner, given his approbation to Lord Cornwallis, creating a new Barony in him and his heirs male, with remainder to me and my children, and he has desired the title to be Castle Coote.

Your Lordship will much oblige me, by presenting my affectionate respects to Lady Buckingham, Lord and Lady Temple, and I have the honour to be, everywhere and always, my dear Lord, your obliged and affectionate, &c.

CHARLES HENRY COOTE.

P.S.—The Bills of Supply never were so late, as they are this year—not one yet brought in—I should hope that four long sittings will finish our committee on the Union; two nights on the commercial, and two on the representation.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Feb. 28, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

The three first resolutions have passed the House of Lords, 48 to 20, and the seventh, has passed the House of Commons,

* Charles Henry Coote, seventh earl. He died March 1st, 1802, when the writer, his kinsman, succeeded to the new creation, as second Baron Castle Coote.

150 to 108. The division was at 12 o'clock on a question of the chairman to leave the chair, after which the act passed without division; the resolution of the opposition not to fight the details is a great advantage to us in avoiding delay, the only thing which (I think) we had to fear.

Wednesday they were to go on the commercial article. When that is gone through, they can I think not have more than three more days in the Commons; one on parliament, one on the remaining articles, and one on the question to report these resolutions to the House.

Allowing therefore for accidental delays, it seems likely that we shall have them in Parliament here, by the third week in March, and we shall I trust make some progress in them before Easter, and have our bills brought into both Parliaments before the end of April; and passed, I trust, in the course of May. Cooke does not seem to expect much difference in numbers in Parliament, but speaks of great exertions making to promote disturbance in the country; that, I trust, we are too strong for.

Your most affectionate brother,

G.

The acknowledgment of Lord Grenville's services towards Ireland has been gracefully expressed by one of our most eminent political writers.*

* "After Mr. Grattan, it would be difficult to point out any person to whom the great and fundamental question of Irish policy, and the cause of religious liberty in general, was so much indebted as Lord Grenville, while in the sacrifices which he made to it, he certainly much exceeded Mr. Grattan himself. He was enabled to render this valuable service to his country, not more by his natural abilities, which were of a very high order, sound judgment, extraordinary memory, an almost preternatural power of application, and, by the rich stores of knowledge which those eminent qualities had put him in possession of, than by the accidental circumstances in his previous history and present position, his long experience in office, which had tried and matured his talents in times of unexampled difficulty,

No English statesman, we believe, ever exhibited so cordial a regard for that portion of the United Kingdom; and the bulk of its population, the Roman Catholics, obtained from him more real benefit—rendered, let it be remembered, with unexampled disinterestedness—than they received from the entire tribe of noisy adventurers who have contrived to flourish upon a prospect of undoing what Lord Grenville has done.

The Irish question, fortunately, did not distract the attention of our legislators from the English one of peace or war. The great debate in the House of Commons, to which we have already referred, respecting the Bonaparte Correspondence, though it elicited the hearty opposition of Messrs. Fox and Whitbread, expressed, by the division* which concluded it, the sense of the nation.

The warlike operations of this period were neither few nor unimportant. In India our arms had been crowned with such extraordinary success, that the gratitude of the nation had scarcely been expressed for one splendid achievement, when intelligence arrived of a more signal triumph. In the autumn of the preceding year, Lord Grenville had moved in the House of Lords, a vote of thanks for his college friend, the Governor-General of India, and the distin-

his connection with Mr. Pitt both in the kindred of blood and of place, so well fitted to conciliate the Tory party, or, at all events, to dissolve their hostility and lull their suspicions—above all, the well-known and steady attachment of himself and family to the principles and the establishment of the Church of England."—*Lord Brougham's "Statesmen of the Time of George III."*

* 265 to 64.

guished officers and gallant soldiers who had assisted him in overthrowing that once formidable enemy, Tippoo Saib; it elicited this acknowledgment.

THE EARL OF MORNINGTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Fort William, Jan 27, 1800.

MY DEAR LORD,

Your very kind and affectionate letter of the 27th of September gave me the greatest pleasure, and I cannot express to you my happiness at reading the account of your manner of mentioning me in moving the address to the King on the first day of the Session. My expectations of the advantages to be derived from our success in Mysoor, have been fully answered; its operation pervades every interest of Great Britain in India, to the remotest extremities of this part of the world. Henry, I flatter myself, has afforded you full satisfaction with regard to the settlement of our conquests. Pray, my dear Lord, remember me most kindly to Lady Buckingham, and all your family, and believe me, ever, with the most cordial sentiments of gratitude and esteem, yours most faithfully and affectionately,

MORNINGTON.

I continue in good health, and always in better spirits in proportion to the increase of my business. Pleasure, distinct from business, is not a plant of this climate.

A more luminous illustration of the state of British interests abroad and at home proceeded, on the 17th of this month, from the pen of Lord Grenville, addressed to his elder brother.

Cleveland Row, Feb. 17, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I have seen Henry Wellesley several times since he came to town, but in truth I am not enough *au fait* of the details of Indian politics, to be able to question him on the subject, nor do I imagine that he has brought any other ideas over than those of the partition of the Mysore conquest, which I presume are more, and probably better, detailed in Wellesley's own dispatches; but these I have not yet read, having not yet found either time or eye-sight to spare for them from all the mails, which for the last fortnight have been pouring in upon me and blinding me. You could not therefore ask a more ignorant person than myself, with respect to the balance of power in India, and all the other objects which, infinitely to Wellesley's honour and to the public service, wholly occupies his mind, but for which I have hardly a pigeon hole left in mine, except as they are connected with his merit, which all mankind does justice to. I know by a Calcutta Gazette, which I received yesterday, under his cover, that he is got back there well and glorious.

With respect to our continental politics, we are just in the same situation as we have been all through the war; unable to get these continental powers to make any united effort, though each of them necessarily has done all we could desire. The retreat of Suwarow's army, far from being a calamity, was in truth the only thing that left a hope of our doing anything this year; for ever since the defeats in Switzerland, both general and army had become more formidable to their friends than to their foes. I doubt whether history affords another such instance to prove that indisciplined courage may go forwards, but that discipline alone can teach troops to support and to repair reverses. This language of course I cannot hold, because it would neither be just to disparage Paul's* exertions, nor wise to irritate his mind, but so

* Emperor of Russia.

is the fact, and you may rely upon it that whether we succeed or fail without Suwarow, with him we must have failed.

We shall now certainly have upon the frontier, from Mayence to Genoa, a larger army than his Corsican majesty can either keep or feed, and we shall have it under one direction, and actuated by a very strong political interest. Part of our army will not be very well composed, but it will at least be equal to the conscripts and ragamuffians who enter into the muster roll of the French army. With all this, we are no doubt far enough from being in a situation to reckon with confidence upon success, for ten thousand accidents may disappoint our hopes; but certainly they have a better foundation than they have ever yet had.

Popham will not arrive at Petersburgh till about this time, so it will be still some time before we can judge what Russian cooperation we may have to reckon upon in this campaign, and these delays are among the greatest difficulties we have to surmount.

I have much confidence in the opinions of those who are sanguine on the Union; but Cooke's private letters to me (this is *entre nous*) are very far from being written in the same tone. You will I think be satisfied with what has been done about Lord Downshire. I own I am sorry that a man who had on former occasions done so well, has put us under the necessity of doing so much, but I fairly think it was unavoidable.

I send you a lecture I wrote to Lord Castlereagh about the question of the Trial of Elections. I cannot but think that the whole difficulty is infinitely overrated; but whether this be so or not, I trust you will agree with me, that we never must consent to let the principle of the present bill be broken in upon by any idea of Irish committees; which would neither be consistent with the first principle of that bill, nor with any hope of administering impartial justice.

It is still very doubtful whether the offer can be made to Lord Carysfort. Randolph was to give his answer to-day; if he declines, it will probably be offered to the Bishop of Chester. If this

should for any reason not happen, will he take Bangor? It will of course be at his refusal, but I do not write to him till I know whether he is to have the offer of the primacy.

Yours most affectionately,

G.

Return me the enclosed.

Bonaparte, after the failure of his attempt to detach England from her allies, by the offer of a separate peace, prepared to carry on a vigorous war. The British government was far from inactive, and though much of its attention was absorbed by an important experiment in domestic legislation, the French ports were jealously watched by our fleets, and the military resources of the nation were being augmented and rendered available for home or foreign service. The following communications show the various points of interest towards which the attention of public men was being directed.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

4th March, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

The last accounts which government has received from France, seem to threaten another attack from Brest on Ireland; and our naval dispositions are now making with some reference to this supposed project of the enemy. If they take out their Spanish ships with them, it will make a fleet of about thirty sail; but though it is wise to be prepared for every event, I cannot think this Irish attack is very seriously intended; indeed it seems scarcely possible that at the beginning of a campaign, when France has no numbers to spare, they should hamper themselves with an expedition of so much risk, both to their troops and to

their navy, for no other object than that of disturbing the Irish Union.

Your Dublin letters probably agree with those which I have seen, in describing all the circumstances as favourable to the measure, and yet expressing more doubt of its success than those circumstances naturally would justify; I am sorry to find that there must necessarily be a pause in the proceeding, because now it is once brought forward, the sooner it is concluded the better. They are confident against any apprehension of Dublin mobs; to me it seems highly probable that the commercial questions will bring numerous petitioners and petitions, and numbers in Dublin assembled together must make mob. By the French papers, Lord Nelson is gone to Leghorn to concert with Lord Keith; if so I presume he will stay in the Mediterranean.

God bless you dearest brother,

Yours affectionately,

T. G.

P.S.—I hear not a word of Primacy except a vague report of Mr. Cleaver, and a vague report of Easdy. It was yesterday said that Dampier would have Bangor in order to give Canterbury to Marsham, and other good things to others—but this is mere report.

Among the Marquis of Buckingham's most confidential correspondents, were the members of a Buckinghamshire family, who solely derived their position and advancement from his countenance; a support that was afterwards extended to them by the other branches of the Grenville family. The writer of the following note, the eldest of three brothers, was already in the enjoyment of an excellent post in the Exchequer, and subsequently became known as the Right Hon. Sir William Henry Fremantle, K.G.H., Member of the Privy Council, Treasurer of the Household,

Ranger of Windsor Great Park, &c., &c. His next brother, Stephen Francis William, who had been with the Marquis in Ireland, became a Colonel in the army. A third brother, more celebrated and more fortunate, Sir Thomas Francis Fremantle, became a Lord of the Admiralty, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, Grand Cross of the Bath, and was created a Baron of the Austrian Empire. His eldest son, Thomas Francis of Swanbourne, county of Buckingham, was raised to the dignity of a Baronet, August 14, 1821. The "my brother Tom" of the writer, is the future Lord of the Admiralty.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.P., TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, March 7th, 1800.

My Lord,

I enclose you the copy of a letter we have received at the Exchequer from the Committee upon Public Records, and our answer—it has been general to every office in the kingdom. We have confined our answer as much as possible, and stated the real fact, that the Tellers' office has no record of any sort or kind. The answer was returned yesterday; should any further correspondence take place I will instantly let you know; I understand the offices of auditor and pells have gone much more at length in their reply.

There is nothing new to inform your Lordship. The Hamburg mails are still due, and the retreat of the Russians generally acknowledged. The Prince of Wales is going to bring a bill into Parliament to enable him to mortgage the Duchy of Cornwall, and I hear from pretty good authority that the government have lent themselves to his views upon it. The object is to clear his private debts, and leave him a net £100,000 per annum. He looks dreadfully—indeed I think it quite impossible he can

recover, but I dined in his company the other day, and he ate with a good appetite and did not drink to his former excess. He is reduced beyond idea, and still continues the dreadful remedy of bleeding.

I suppose you have heard of Lord Camelford's new exploit—it is exactly as the newspapers have related it; he had not the slightest shadow of grounds for offence against his friend, but beat him unmercifully, and would most likely have murdered him, if he had not taken refuge in a cottage. He had prepared arms in the carriage, and though quite dark, insisted upon Mr. Abbot's fighting him. His bail is £4000, and two sureties at £2000 each.

My brother Tom is extremely anxious for a ship, and tells me he has written to your Lordship to intercede in his behalf with Lord Spencer. I am delighted that he is now determined on the subject, as I think him quite re-established in his health, and with his professional character, it is a matter of surprise to all who know him, that he should continue to neglect his profession. He is now contented to accept a good frigate, and I should imagine Lord Spencer would not refuse him one of the best; but whatever he procures, he must always owe it to the continuation of that support and kindness which you have ever shewn to him and all of us.

My wife has just got a cornetcy in the 3rd Dragoon Guards for her eldest son; he is going at Easter to Weimar in Saxony—the college is particularly recommended, and is I believe, the only one in Germany untainted with the precepts of the *Illuminés*. The report of the committee was made yesterday, which proves the distress of the country most alarming. In Wiltshire we have suffered very much by the burning of a farm, and the threatened destruction of much more. It is difficult to know how to check the progress of these tumults, as there are no gentlemen resident in that part of the country, and no troops. It is rather hard upon us, as Mrs. F. is the only person in that neighbourhood who has at all subscribed to the distresses of the poor, and the

farmer who suffered had not twenty quarters of wheat in his possession, nor do I find (from the agent who is come up) that there is the least monopoly of grain in the neighbourhood.

I only trust the alarming reports of Parliament, and the want which must necessarily follow (if they are well founded,) will not produce the same sort of riots in other parts of the kingdom.

I remain, my Lord,

Always your very affectionate and grateful humble servant,

W. H. FREMANTLE.

Mr. Warburton adds another graphic contribution to the history of the Irish Union. It appears from this, as well as from preceding communications, that the vacant Primacy had for some time been going a begging; the English Bishops not being attracted by the superior dignity. The Irish Bishop, on whom report conferred the office, was evidently not in favour with the writer.

Ely Place, 11th March, 1800.

The anti-union *round Robin* is now giving way, and will probably be very soon dissolved. The *three* Rowleys voted for government last night, and some other deserters are spoken of with certainty. On the article of representation, much opposition and long debate were expected last night, but except from George Ponsonby, and two or three violent lawyers, very little was said, and the house up before ten o'clock.

Some of the opposition gentlemen are dropping off into the country, and some very sick of the part they have acted, and I believe *all* begin now to doubt the fulfilment of the Speaker's prophecy (which he still continues to hold forth) "that the Union will inevitably fail." Out of doors, the subject is no longer talked of, and considering the scarcity and high price of potatoes, even the *Liberty* is uncommonly tranquil.

We are still without a Primate—report states that no English

Bishop will accept, and that it will come to *Cashell*—the latter part I cannot believe possible. The minister must know his grace better (after so many trials) than to place him in a situation, beyond which he can have nothing to look for; besides there are other serious and weighty reasons (that need not be told to your Lordship) why such an appointment ought not to take place. Unbounded avarice, political ambition, ecclesiastical arrogance, and an intolerant spirit, would be the absolute ruin of the Irish church under the present circumstances of the country. Every friend of the government here, deprecates the idea of a political intriguer being placed at the head of the church, and I know your Lordship will readily believe, that every serious-minded man in this kingdom looks towards Bishop Cleaver as the most unexceptionable character for that station.

The Secretary of State wrote:

Cleveland Row, March 22, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I have just got a letter from Cooke, announcing that they went through the commercial resolution, (giving the cotton manufacturers five years before the reduction), and divided, on the question to report, 154 to 112. On Friday they were to vote to send the resolutions to the Lords. The Speaker made a personal invective against the government, and was repaid in the same coin by Lord Castlereagh.

This great work, may I hope, now be considered as safe, though the House of Lords is disposed to give us some trouble about their representation. We still hope to have the resolutions here in time to lay them before the two Houses, previous to the Easter recess, and we shall then go on immediately after the holidays *pari passu* in the two Houses; so that I think we may very well have the bill in Parliament by the first week in May, and I see nothing to hinder the King from passing it on the 4th of June.

I know I need not tell you how much I felt when I received the account of your illness, and of the great danger in which you had been; I am sure you know too well the feelings which such a circumstance could not fail to excite in my mind; most ardently do I pray that the progress of your recovery may be uninterrupted.

I wish I could look to the hope of coming down to you at Easter; but it is quite out of the question, first, because of the Union, the details of bringing it forward being then to be settled; and still more from this cruel delay of our mails, that whenever they come will bring me more labour, both of body and eyesight, than I well know how to look forward to. These last two days we have had a complete thaw, with an east wind; from which we are led to hope, that the thaw has already begun on the continent; but there are no tidings whatever of our mails, and all the messages from hence, are still detained at Holyhead, which is perhaps even worse than the delay of our hearing from the continent.

Our papers from Paris go no later than the 12th, but from the manner in which his Corsican majesty speaks of his hopes of peace, it is plain they are not very sanguine.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, March 26, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

The act in question was very much considered here, and most of the points you mention are intentionally left in the state in which they now stand. I have, however, sent for the draft of it to see how the point stands about the proxies of the lords temporal, which seems to me to be wrong. The Bishops, I think, have no pretence to elect lords temporal, being differently represented, and the requiring voting peers hereafter to qualify *in Ireland* previous to their voting, was conceded to the peers at

the beginning of the discussion, being a point on which many of them were, and certainly not without reason, very intent.

Our news is like the rest of human affairs, mixed out of Jupiter's two barrels. I think the draught of good considerably predominates.

The Austrians are going on in good earnest. Suwarow and his army are recalled. Genoa is on the point of being taken. The Austrian army is much superior in number to the French taking the whole together, and considerably inferior to them upon the Rhine alone. We have concluded a subsidy treaty for 12,000 Bavarians, and shall conclude large pecuniary engagements with Austria.

Sir Sidney Smith has played the devil in Egypt, and has made the Turks, against their will, sign a treaty with Kleber to let him bring his 15,000 men safe home to France to fight us there instead of fighting the plague in Egypt. What a blockhead!

En revanche, Nelson has taken the 'Généreux' with a convoy of 1500 men, beside store-ships, &c., all trying to get into Malta, and it was supposed that Malta* would fall instantly.

God bless you.

The incident described in the accompanying letter, attracted considerable attention at this period, as much from the rarity, as from the gravity of such an occurrence—the mutiny of a ship's company, their cutting down the Captain, and carrying the vessel, under his command, into an enemy's port. Many painful rumours were afloat, respecting the cause of this outbreak; but we believe, with the writer, that it was mainly attributable to the incendiary spirit in our seamen, which had been stifled

* At this time besieged by an English force.

rather than extinguished, at the Nore, and which three of the prisoners contrived to fan into a flame.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 29, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Lord Carysfort was with me when I received your letter, which I gave him to read, and which he felt so affectionately as to determine to answer himself, as to the kind enquiries which you make concerning this unfortunate affair—to him therefore I refer you for the account which Lord Proby* has sent to him in a letter brought yesterday by the purser, surgeon and clerk of the "Danaë," and to him I refer for an account of his conversation with these three persons. They all agree in stating that there had been no punishments or severity on board the ship, nor the slightest suspicion of any discontent in a single man of the crew. The only foreigners on board were five French *prisoners,* three of whom joined in the mutiny and the other two remained quiet below; the design and conduct of it is attributed to three men who had been accepted as Americans by Lord Proby out of an *English* man of war, and one of these men now turns out to have been one of the "Hermione" mutineers. Lord Proby alarmed by report of mutiny on deck, ran up the hatchway where he was attacked, and cut down by a blow of a sword on the head; after which the mutineers secured the hatchways, and in a few hours conducted the ship into Brest. His wound is not dangerous, and he is very well treated, nor do I see how it is possible to impute to him the slightest blame or neglect in the business, there not being a word of truth in the story of his taking volunteers out of a French privateer. The serious and unpleasant consideration, in my mind, is in the new proof which this misfortune gives of

* Eldest son of the Earl of Carysfort.

lurking disease in parts of the navy; and if an event like this takes place without any pretence of harsh treatment or any suggestion of grievance, it presents very alarming apprehensions as to the other crews and ships of the fleet.

I hope the French will come out and fight us in order that a new victory may help to set all to rights; they threaten it daily from Brest, where Lord Bridport* with thirty-one sail is closely watching their motions. When the purser and surgeon came away from Brest, they saw every appearance of the hasty embarkation of troops on board the French fleet, and there are many reports of their coming out with numbers not much less than Lord Bridport's; if they do, will they try Portugal, or will they not rather push at once for the Mediterranean, for Genoa and Malta? The Turkish convention as the Gazette will tell you, is signed and ratified. Sir Sidney has not signed, but has in words approved; he is a greater hero than politician.

God bless you, dearest brother,

T. G.

It was found necessary to look as closely to the security of our colonies, as to that of the mother-country, from the assaults of a powerful and enterprising enemy. The climate of some of the West Indian Islands had proved most destructive to our troops in garrison; and, as will be seen from the following letters of an officer of some experience, a design had been suggested of organizing a force composed of negroes, who could fulfil the duties of the white soldier, unattended with the danger from the pestilential atmosphere of the country, which had proved more fatal to his regiment than the enemy's artillery.

* Alexander Hood, in 1801, created Viscount Bridport, and appointed Vice Admiral of Great Britain. He died in 1814.

COLONEL STEVENSON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 11th, 1800.

My Lord,

I hope your Lordship will excuse my troubling you with the paper which accompanies this letter; my observation, on the continent, on the importance of the description of troops of which it treats, will I hope prove my apology for giving your Lordship the trouble of perusing it. The Black Republic of St. Domingo, will have its disadvantages, the recent disturbances amongst the negroes at Jamaica, and the sentiment of emancipation, which has spread to Cayenne, must call for a force to check it, and watch over the islands; a large black force, his Majesty's Ministers appear to think the best for that service, as saving the British troops, and opposing the enemy with forces better suited to the climate; indeed I have (from Lord Belgrave's answer to Mr. Tierney on the 28th February, that it was in contemplation with government to establish this sort of force) been induced to recall to your Lordship's recollection, that you early saw its utility, and kindly on a former occasion, assisted me with your opinions and information. The feudality of the establishment, as stated in the papers accompanying this, may give it some additional merit, as it would on some future occasion, be the source from whence those forces would be recruited; it prevents desertion, and by doing duty, by detachments, prevents the too great intimacy between the blacks that are to be checked and the black forces who are to check them—thus the danger of raising a force in the islands, where there may be revolt, is prevented. I beg your Lordshship's pardon for the trouble I give you, and assure your Lordship I am with great respect,

Your Lordship's,

Most obliged and humble servant,

Charles Stevenson.

P.S.—As the annual fleet for Canada, sails early next month, should my proposal to raise this force meet with the approbation of his Majesty's Ministers, I should have no time to lose in collecting my officers.

On the 3rd of the following month, the writer again addressed Lord Buckingham:

In consequence of troops being said to be ordered for the West Indies, I have had some conversation with General Simcoe, on the propriety of establishing a large and permanent black force for service in the hot countries, for which their habits and constitutions render them particularly fit, and which service has proved so fatal to our European soldiery. General Simcoe has seen at St. Domingo the utility of such a force, and will communicate to your Lordship his ideas on its advantages. The feudal system I had the honour to suggest to your Lordship in my last, would in a few years be the source from whence this force could be recruited; and the only place in which we have land to grant without the negro mixing with the present inhabitants—he consequently will have no prejudices to conquer, and must be solely attached to the government. Should a peace take place, it most probably would be of short duration, and surely your Lordship will think it good policy, to cultivate the means for active operations when necessary, and have in view the saving to this country the British troops usually employed in the West Indies. We have only to recur to our losses in the West Indies this war, to prove the propriety and policy of cultivating this description of troops. I am willing, my Lord, to undertake to raise a force of one thousand riflemen, and two hundred cavalry as a legion, free of expense to government; they furnishing the arms, clothing and accoutrements. I will not take up your Lordship's time in detailing the plan, as your Lordship approved of the measure on a former proposal; but if your Lordship thinks at this time

it may have merit, and will acquaint Mr. Wyndham with it, he probably would appoint me to wait on him. I should have a pleasure in transacting business with him, as he not only attends to the subject, but readily forms his opinions upon it.

Will your Lordship permit me to ask, if you have received any answer respecting the business of my friend which you obligingly undertook, as your Lordship must perceive circumstances will soon oblige him to decide for himself, and probably prejudiced, which I have studiously and, as yet, happily guarded against, although he feels piqued at what he terms slight after the liberal manner in which he offered his services to the government. Indeed, if Mr. Pitt's avocations did not permit him to accept it himself, I would make one effort more to attach him to some of his Majesty's ministers, as I should be sorry to see him with the opposition.

More than one paragraph of the following letters refers to the difficulties the English government met with in dealing with their allies. It should be remembered that though Bonaparte was apparently carrying on hostilities with them with the greatest energy; with no less enterprise was he secretly engaged in negociations to break up their confederacy.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, April 3, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I send you the inclosed, because I think it will amuse you now, and in the course of the campaign. But you must promise to keep it exclusively to yourself, as Wickham procured it from the Austrian staff, and sends it under strict injunctions of secrecy; the Austrians making a great point of concealing their force, and giving it out to be less than it is. I am sworn not

even to let Staremberg suspect that I have such a paper, or know that they have more than 80,000 men.

We found on deliberation that it was not possible to refuse to let the Turkish capitulation be executed. It will be many months before they get to France, and when they get there they will not be very welcome guests to Bonaparte.

Every thing promises that Austria will go on roundly; but as nothing is ever complete in this world, Paul has taken the bit in his mouth and is galloping off as fast as he can; I trust, however, we shall still do very well.

The Brest fleet is making a show of sailing, but it is difficult to understand why or where.

God bless you.

I also inclose the amended plan for the residence of the clergy.

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL TEMPLE.

Dropmore, April 8, 1800, 10 p.m.

My dear Lord Temple,

I have this moment received your letter. It had not occurred to me that Stuart Mackenzie's death was likely to produce any removal at the Treasury, and I should much doubt whether it will; no time shall, however, be lost by me in ascertaining this point, and if I can at all contribute to help forward such an arrangement, I will most readily do whatever depends on me towards it.

There would be no use in giving you the trouble of coming to town, especially when your being at Stowe must be such a comfort to my brother. I conclude you will be in town next week for the Irish business, and if I am not able to write to you before, we shall then meet, and I will let you know what I have learnt on the subject.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

I have just heard from Vienna, that while our communications were interrupted by the frost, a revolution took place in England, Parliament was dissolved on the 2nd of March, never to meet again; and the Custom-house was burnt on the 3rd. I send you this interesting news as you probably have not heard it before, and it concerns a future Lord of the Treasury very nearly.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.P., TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Stanhope Street, April 10, 1800.

My Lord,

At last I have been able to see Mr. Rose, who is clearly of opinion that it is unnecessary to add the latter part of the answer you sent me; he thinks the order does not require it, therefore the answer will be, "In obedience, &c., humbly report that in the number and amount of salaries, emoluments, and expenses of the four offices, &c., for the years 97, 98, and 99 inclusive, no increase or diminution has taken place." It will not be given in till the week after next, therefore if your Lordship has any further wish upon it, you will have time to let me know it.

I am sorry to inform you, that the review of the Hertfordshire yeomanry is certainly to take place in May next—Lady Salisbury told me that they had received notice of it; I therefore take it for granted the Buckinghamshire will not escape. I fear they will not make so good an appearance as they would have done two years ago, as the very high price of hay and corn must have unhorsed many of them; however I trust, and (from what I hear I think I may say for certain) that the Hertfordshire are worse.

Lord W. seems to have made but a bad match, his wife has never appeared to a soul since her marriage, not even to her servants; she makes them all disappear at dinner,

and insists upon Lord W. changing her plates and knives and forks; she is, by all accounts, perfectly mad. He certainly is not much pitied—he knew she disliked him, and she knew that he made proposals, but a few weeks before, to another person. Whatever sins he committed towards the first Lady W. are likely to be amply repaid to him.

Poor Lady Mary Howe* after about ten days illness is dead—nearly about the same day she was to have been married to Lord Morton;† it was fever with violent spasms. She knew her situation perfectly, and took leave of Lord Morton the day before.

I am much obliged to your Lordship, and my wife desires me to thank you for your hint respecting Weimar. With respect to the truth of it, in almost every institution in Germany you are perfectly right, and it has puzzled her beyond measure to know where to send him to avoid such dangerous principles. This seminary is perfectly independant of all German connections, is kept by Mounier, an exiled French loyalist, and only takes twenty English boys. I have seen several persons who have been there with their sons, who are perfectly satisfied with respect to the purity of the establishment, both in morals and politics, particularly Colonel Sloane, whom you know, and who has a son placed there.

There is no doubt of the French fleet, being to all appearance ready for sea. Everybody is much astonished at Lord Bridport's coming in. The Duke of York‡ had nearly been

* Widow of Admiral Lord Howe.

† George, seventeenth earl.

‡ The Duke was riding in the King's Road, towards Fulham, on the 8th of April, when his horse was startled by a drover's dog that ran barking across the road. The horse reared and fell back upon his Royal Highness; then rising, dragged him along with his feet entangled in the stirrups. When rescued from this perilous situation, two of his ribs were fractured, and his head, face, and arms very much contused. He was carried home in a hack chaise that was passing at the time.

killed, but escaped with the fracture of a rib; he is likely to do very well. The Duke of Somerset* is to be married to Lady Charlotte Hamilton, a daughter of the Duke of Hamilton. I should think she is about ten or twelve years older than he is.

There is certainly to be a cavalry camp at Bagshot as usual this year, but most likely of smaller numbers and earlier, as the King has fixed his departure for Weymouth, for the 1st of August.

I remain always, your Lordship's

Most faithful and affectionate humble servant,

W. H. Fremantle.

P.S. I have just heard the Duke of York is not so well to-day, he has more fever, and the rib is not properly replaced.

A curious, and not uninteresting illustration of the state of agriculture in England more than half a century ago, is now produced. The interpolations towards the end are in the hand-writing of Lord Buckingham.

MR. THOMAS HOSKEN TO LORD AUCKLAND.

General Post-office, April 13th, 1800.

My Lord,

I have the honour of your Lordship's note, and am happy at your expression of approbation at the information my paper contained; and in answer to your further inquiry, as to the goodness of the crop this year, I can speak generally from Hull and Liverpool, southward to Falmouth. The crop was not down any where, owing to the dry weather. Never saw wheat so clean—no smut, no mildew, nor did I ever see wheat that *would produce more flour*, the *hull* or *skin* is so *thin*, the

* Edward Adolphus St. Maur, eleventh duke. He was married on the 24th of June.

weather so dry to ripen it. I never would desire better bread than can be made from your wheat, taking about five or six pounds of hull or bran from a bushel; supposing your bushel to weigh sixty-one pounds, (as it will this year), if eight gallon measure, let the other fifty-five pound be made into bread —eight half-peck loaves, for so much it will make, and better bread cannot be eat. But to your question—although the crop is not so heavy as to have been laid down, (perhaps for want of wind or rain in part,) yet the crops were good almost every where. I never saw them so regular; they did not fail on the hill, (not even on the hills in Dorsetshire), nor in the valley; and from everything I have seen, and what I could collect, I think there was a good middle crop. Last year I did not get the produce of flour at more than £7 16*s.* of a full crop. I this year judge it at from £16 16*s.* I mean south of the Humber. I have not travelled further; but I hear from the west side of Scotland, the produce is fair. On the east side I have not so favourable an account. But these two last observations I have not been able to form a judgment on; I only give it as hearsay. I hope your Lordship will understand this, if not, I should be happy to explain.

I am, my Lord, with great respect,

Your Lordship's obedient most humble servant,

T. HOSKEN.

I am told the supposed average of wheat from the acre, is not more in general than eighteen bushels. I do not know if this estimation is right, [very right]. But I cannot from what I have seen this year, guess it at less than twenty-four: perhaps I may be wrong, [I am afraid so,] or perhaps the general supposition is wrong.

Of wheat, oats, beans, pease, and barley this year, if any is a worse crop than the other, I think it is the barley, on the high lands if late sowed, the straw being very short there. The

wheat only failed in the furrows of the stoney lands, where the water stood in winter.

Perhaps I may trouble your Lordship further on this subject, from Devonshire and South Wales in a few days.

The reference to the approaching incorporation with the Imperial Legislature of the Irish Representatives, according to the arrangement of the Union between the two kingdoms; the allusion to the gallant Sir Sydney Smith's recent unpolitic effort at diplomacy in Egypt, with which the English government was greatly dissatisfied; the mention of the eccentricities of the Emperor of Russia, and the assignment of duties to the English Admirals, in the following letter, indicate the principal points to which the vane of public opinion was now turning.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 17th April, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I received your letter but a little before I was leaving Dropmore, in order to come up and help to pave the way for the admission of the hundred Irish knights and burgesses into the English parliament. I have always expected that Tierney and Grey would prance about on their reform horses whenever the new construction of the United parliament should enable them to state any question of change as being actually before the House and public; and, in truth, I am just told that they will attend to-day for that purpose. But although this may prolong the debate, it is little likely to affect the division; the public mind being, as I guess, less than ever disposed, in the present moment, to pursue the question of parliamentary reform.

You will have seen by the last French papers which contain

the Egyptian convention and Kleber's account of it, that our Christian knight is a better soldier than politician; yet, although I entirely dislike and disapprove the countenance which he has given to this convention, as he has taken upon himself to give it his sanction in the quality of a British commanding officer, we must, I fear, respect that character, however prejudicial to our wishes and interests—and that it is so, no man can doubt who reads the account which Kleber gives of his situation when it was signed. What Paul will do, nobody can venture to predict; and, between ourselves, it is the private opinion of Sir Charles Whitworth* that he is become so entirely deranged in his understanding, as to make it questionable whether he will not soon be considered as such even by the trembling public of Petersburgh. He has quarrelled with Whitworth and asked for another minister; he has recalled his land forces with M. de Viosmenil from Guernsey and Jersey, although he still professes attachment to England and unabated hostility to France; but after the comment made by Whitworth, if that be true, you see that it cannot be safe to speculate upon any co-operation from the quarter of Russia. My own apprehensions are that, if his intellects are really deranged, that country will be likely to fall into universal confusion—not so much from French or Jacobin agency, as from the rising discontent in the higher orders of that country, who have been treated with childish rigour and severity by the strange and capricious temper of the present Emperor. Lord St. Vincent† is to take the Channel fleet; Sir H. Parker‡ comes home to it, and is succeeded by Lord Hugh; Nelson goes on well with Keith,§ and remains in the Mediterranean.

God bless you, my dearest Brother.

* Ambassador at St. Petersburgh, created baron on the 21st of March.

† John Jervis, first earl. In the following year appointed First Lord of the Admiralty. He died in March, 1823.

‡ Admiral Sir Hyde Parker. He died 16th March, 1807.

§ Admiral Lord Keith. He died in 1823.

Lord Proby has not written; he is probably sent to Valenciennes—the cartel is renewed.

The writer of the account of Irish politics, about to be submitted to the reader, was Richard Grace, Esq., of Boley, in the Queen's county, M.P. He died in 1801, and was father to Sir William Grace, Bart., of Grace Castle, Kilkenny.

RICHARD GRACE, ESQ., M.P., TO EARL TEMPLE.

Dublin, May 1, 1800.

My Lord,

I do not find that until the assizes, Mr. Pole commenced a canvass; though the friends of Parnell, Lord de Vesci, Sir Robert Staples, and Warburton, were busy in preparing the ground. At the assizes he declared himself, and a canvass so very warm commenced, that Coote found it necessary to make applications on all sides; and Mr. Flood and Bambrick declared my intention to become a candidate. During the assizes, a meeting took place of the principal men of the county, wherein, after various speeches praising Parnell to the skies and reprobating Coote, Mr. Pole commenced an oration of above an hour; urging the ruin which Union must bring on, the degradation to the Irish gentlemen—when Lord Temple might nominate himself—the disgraceful conduct of Coote in disobeying his constituents, declaring he would be a thorn in his side, and calling for support on the independent gentlemen. When he had done, Coote arose and defended himself as well as he could, and the measures he supported. Fifteen of the grand jury, with the governor (Pole) at their head, called a general county meeting (herewith I send you the paper in which it is published) for Monday, the 28th April, which has been since held, and very strong resolutions adopted, as well as a petition to the throne.

Your Lordship will see the obvious tendency of introducing your name so unnecessarily in an angry speech.

I find from Coote, &c., that government are not very well pleased with the Governor's conduct, though he has tried to palliate it here, by conversation much less violent than that addressed to the Queen's county freeholders. As to the interests now to be secured, are Lord Upper Ossory,* and Lodge Morris, both of whom have taken most decided parts for Union; and perhaps your Lordship may procure applications to be made to them.

Mr. Pole applied to Lord Drogheda;† his answer was (beside general disapprobation of anti-union principles,) that he would always remember that on a former occasion he had lost, by his means, both his election and his son.

However, a letter from your Lordship to Lord Westmeath,‡ would be very material for me. Lord Portarlington§ is strong for Union, and has not declared for Mr. Pole. Lord Cornwallis‖ gave him a company a few days ago; and he can be clinched either by Lord McCartney¶ or Colonel Wortley. Mr. Coote is preparing a counter petition in favour of Union; and he speaks boldly of the resentment of government, especially Lord Castlereagh, whom Mr. Pole called a monster in his famous speech.

Fearing to be troublesome to the Marquis, I did not write to him; so that any application to Stowe will be made by your Lordship.

I also enclose to you a pamphlet of Mr. Grattan's, which is much spoken of here. The value of it, is chiefly in his praises

* John Fitzpatrick, second and last earl. He died in 1816.

† Charles, sixth earl and first marquis. He died Dec. 29, 1828.

‡ George Frederick, seventh earl. He died 30th December, 1814.

§ John Vernom, third viscount and second earl.

‖ Charles, first marquis. Died Oct. 5, 1805.

¶ George, first baron, viscount, and earl. He died in 1806.

of the late Lord Charlemont, and some other of his deceased friends. Your Lordship will form a very proper opinion on other parts of it, which are certainly strained, to say the least, and in many instances misrepresented and untrue.

I am very anxious to hear from you what hopes we may indulge from government on a future day.

With best respects to Lady Temple, permit me to assure your Lordship of the sentiments of gratitude and respect with which

I am your ever faithful and obliged servant,

RICHARD GRACE.

Dr. Maltby possesses a strong claim on the reader's attention as a clerical reformer. As a divine, he held a distinguished place, at the commencement of the century, among English prelates.

THE BISHOP OF LINCOLN TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Deanery, St. Paul's, May 3, 1800.

MY DEAR LORD,

I return your Lordship my best thanks for your very obliging and interesting letter, and beg leave to assure your Lordship that the important subjects to which it relates, have for some time occupied a great deal of my attention; and, which is of far greater moment, I have the pleasure of adding that Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt have had the goodness to form a plan for enforcing the residence of the clergy, and for other purposes of that nature. But their time has unfortunately been so much engaged of late, that they have not been able to bring their plan to a state to be laid before Parliament, and I begin to fear that it will not be introduced this session. I must therefore entreat that your Lordship will consider this communication as confidential. For myself, my Lord, I have to inform your

Lordship that I have sent to every incumbent in my diocese the following questions, which are to be answered in writing at my ensuing visitation :—Is he resident upon his benefice, and in the house belonging to it? Doth he serve any other cure, and at what distance? and in case of non-residence of the incumbent, he is to add the reason why he does not reside. I beg leave to assure your Lordship that I will exert myself to the utmost to enforce residence, wherever it is practicable; and I should think myself greatly obliged to any one who would inform me of instances of non-residence, where my power could properly be applied.

With respect to the increase of Methodism, I am also in great hope that something will be done by government upon that subject, and I trust this session. Several weeks since I had occasion to write to Mr. Hutton, and, among other things, I particularly desired that he would not allow any clergyman to officiate in his church, who was not beneficed in my diocese. Your Lordship may rely upon my strict attention to these two grand points—non-residence, and the increase of Methodism; but at the same time, I fear my efforts will not be very successful, while the laws remain as they are.

My visitation at Buckingham will be on Wednesday, the 9th of July, and if I should hear that your Lordship is at Stowe, I shall be very happy to pay my respects to you on Tuesday evening, the 8th, with my chaplain and relation, Mr. Maltby. Mr. Prettyman will not be with me. I lament that the arrangement of my business will not allow me to make a longer stay than a single night at Stowe. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my dear Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

G. Lincoln.

The proceedings of the French generals excited intense interest in England, and created so eager an appetite for

foreign news, that discrimination sometimes seemed impracticable. Any intelligence favourable to the allies was instantly caught up, and transmitted to Stowe. As will be shown, it was not always that such glimpses of the seat of war satisfied individual curiosity.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, May 9, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

We have at length finished our Union labours, and the resolutions go over to day to Ireland. I send you a printed copy of them in their present shape, they having undergone many alterations, at which I have laboured unceasingly for the last week, in order to make them as perspicuous as so complicated a business would allow.

The enclosed Etat des Armées Françoises may be entirely relied on; so far, I mean, as that it is the official return then made. There is no doubt that in all such returns, and particularly in this, the army on paper much exceeds that in the field.

I am afraid the victory of the 11th will not be confirmed. Yesterday's mail brought nothing on the subject later than what we already knew. It is, however, evident that Massena is cut off, and I trust that the great superiority of numbers of the Austrians in that quarter, will enable them to maintain and improve this advantage.

The government at Vienna seems well-disposed to push the great Consul to the wall, but one has always to dread the effects of any very tempting offers. At Petersburg, my friend Paul is in a passion, and all the fat is in the fire.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

It appears that the French have passed the Rhine from

Schaffhausen to Kehl, and have forced the lines of Stockach,* in which last affair they say they made 7000 prisoners. It is clear that they must have gained some considerable advantage before they could penetrate so far.

On the other side, Massena appears to have failed in his attempt to force a passage through the Austrian army, and to have fallen back again upon Genoa, where I trust he must ultimately lay down his arms.†

This news comes in French papers of the 6th. It is a provoking thing always to get our first intelligence from Paris.

Bonaparte was set out for Dijon.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

DEAREST BROTHER,

We have at length Wickham's account of the 3rd; and though he makes the loss only 8000, and 30 pieces of cannon, yet the defeat is not, as I think, much less than what Moreau had described; of the right and left Austrian columns, the right was too late, and the left lost its way; our own army could not have done worse. Nothing essential has been done yet by Bellegarde, though he has had some little successes; but the French are in great force at Bologna, and Brune has sent from thence to Rome, to require the emigrants to be sent from thence, the French prisoners to be restored, and Damas, by name, to be given up: a requisition which Damas, who commands the Neapolitans at Rome, has begged leave to decline on his part. I think it clear that the French will push on to the attack of the kingdom of Naples, as their success in Germany will allow them to reinforce the army opposed to Bellegarde: the French have 2000 men at Bologna. You see

* Moreau defeated Marshal Kray in several engagements.

† Genoa fell on the 4th of June. Ten days afterwards, Bonaparte completely overthrew the Austrian army under Melas, at Marengo.

by the French papers, that Cobentzel was still at Lunéville on the 14th, and as nobody here has heard from him, I consider him as waiting there, in the intention of resuming negotiation whenever the French success shall give new alarm to the Court of Vienna. Lord Minto's last letter of the 7th describes the news of the 3rd, as just arrived, and therefore he cannot yet judge of its impression, but I have no doubt that it will shake the timid councils of the Emperor.

God bless you, dearest brother,

Lord S. is full of useful projects of reform in dockyards, by which he thinks he can ensure a saving of hemp to the amount of more than one-third—*tant mieux*.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

My dearest Brother,

Accounts are just arrived at the Admiralty from Gibraltar. Gantheaume's squadron had sailed from Toulon on 19th March; on 26th off the south point of Sardinia, Sir J. Warren got sight of them and chased, but lost them in the night, and being uncertain what course they had taken, he pushed on for Alexandria. He had been joined by the 'Alexander' and the 'Athenian' (a 64 found by us at Malta, and fitted out there), which made his force seven sail of the line; the 'Généreux' from Mahon had not joined him. It appears that Gantheaume hauled to the northward, and the 'Mutine' saw him on 4th April, standing under a press of sail for Toulon.

Cartel intelligence from Toulon describes Gantheaume's squadron as so sickly that they had lost near 3000 men since they had left Brest. Surely this is strange exaggeration!

The 'Louisa' has Keith's despatches on board, and had put into Gibraltar to land some prisoners.

So far, so good—good as defeating the Egyptian reinforce-

ments, though unlucky as to their escape from Warren. Meadows is appointed to the command in Ireland, upon the same principle, I suppose, that makes Shakspeare's Clown send Hamlet to England, viz., "to recover his wits; or if he should not, the folks are so mad there, they will not perceive it." If we look at Kent, in the Channel, and in Ireland, there is enough to disturb one's nerves, yet the general report is that the King is better in health and in every respect.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

May 10, 1800.

DEAREST BROTHER,

A messenger is just arrived from Lord Keith with letters of 21st April, in which he describes Massena's situation to be desperate, and the whole south of France to be in a most wretched want of provisions. He likewise announces the capture of 'Guillaume Tell' by the 'Foudroyant,' Sir E. Berry, the 'Lion,' Captain Dixon, and the 'Emerald.' She was taken (after making a desperate resistance) coming out of La Vallette; she was dismasted, and the 'Foudroyant' much disabled. I augur from this the immediate surrender of Malta, because the 'Généreux,' in like manner left Corfu a week before it was given up.

Nelson was at Palermo, and is coming home, having obtained Lord Keith's leave to do so.

The messenger who brings this, brings likewise news of the capture of a Dutch line-of-battle, and a Dutch frigate, both of which he saw towing into Yarmouth Roads by the 'Adamant.'

Letters from Lord St. Vincent announce that he has joined the fleet, and is in high spirits; Sir A. Gardner runs sulky. A pretty good naval gazette.

God bless you, dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

My dearest Brother,

I have this morning left William, who tells me that he will send you an exact translation of the different accounts in the Augsburg Gazette of 23rd April, which all concur in describing Massena killed, and his whole army beaten, with the loss of 9000 killed on the 11th inst. at Carossino.

The only *authentic* accounts we have from Vienna, go down to the affairs of Vado and Savona on the 9th, and describe the Austrians as completely beating the French, and a large body of them as being cut to pieces in their retreat by the artillery of our fleet. There is likewise a letter from Lord Keith on the 9th, describing the same success, and in a private letter of the same date he ends by saying that he looks upon Genoa as now falling.

Under these corroborating circumstances with nothing to contradict them but the two letters from Suchet and Oudinot, and those two letters *proved* false in all that is related up to the 9th, I have no doubt that the general result of Austrian victory on the 11th is true. What will the consequences be? Will the Austrians acquire new courage and pursue their enemy, or will they be reluctant to risk what they have gained, and therefore be more ready to treat than to fight? I should strongly suspect the latter; but yet, while Switzerland is French, or anything but Austrian, I scarcely see what hopes of secure treaty Austria can indulge, even under the advantage of this great victory, if it is to the extent which the Augsburg Gazette describes. I know of no future speculations which can be entertained respecting Paul, excepting such as Dr. Willis may suggest; but upon the whole, I think peace is less distant now than I thought it to be some months ago, though I cannot accurately to my own fancy trace the progress of it. Here is a great talk of the Treasurer-

ship of the Navy, and some talk of Dundas* retiring altogether. The latter I do not believe. The Treasurership will somehow or other pass into the hands of the Steeles, the Ryders, and the Cannings. There was a great palaver made to me in the arrangement of 1794, but those claims, I suppose, are antiquated, and I have no great desire to urge them where, from what little has passed, I see no very ready inclination to admit them.

Ever my dear brother's most affectionately,

T. G.

P.S. I propose to quarter our yeomen on the 19th. There can be no more objection to Major Temple as yeoman than to Colonel Lord Buckingham.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, May 15, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

In consequence of what you mentioned to me some time since, on the subject of Sir William Lee, the following idea has occurred to me as likely to afford him an opportunity, such as is eagerly coveted by many of our officers, of seeing the military operations of the Austrians.

Mr. Wickham has a general mission to represent the King's government with the Austrian army on the Rhine, and to transact all business in any manner connected with the military operations of that army, in which the King's interests are any way concerned. A part of his commission goes to the engaging for German and other troops to be taken into the King's pay, or to be otherwise subsidized, and to be added to the Austrian army.

In the execution of this business, pro-military assistants have been put *entirely under his orders,* (Colonel H. Clinton, and Colonel Ramsey.) The mode which had been before

* Lord Melville.

adopted of allotting these, or other officers, separately to distinct branches of this service, having been found by experience to be productive of some inconvenience, which I trust the present arrangement will avoid.

The conclusion of three or four subsidy treaties, and the probabilities that not only the Swiss, but also the Condé corps will join during the campaign with the Austrians, render it necessary that the number of Wickham's military assistants should be augmented, leaving to him as before, the absolute direction and appropriation of their services.

This has never been looked at as an object of profit to any of those who have been so employed. All that has been done, has been to defray their expenses *bonâ fide* incurred in this service.

If upon this footing it would be agreeable to Sir William Lee to join the campaign with the Austrians, I should have particular pleasure in submitting his name to the King for that purpose, and it would in that case be necessary that he should hold himself in readiness to set out without any considerable delay.

If, therefore, you think the proposal likely to be agreeable to him, I will trouble you to learn his wishes upon it, and to let me know them.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

On Thursday, May 15th, the King was inspecting the Grenadier battalion of the Guards in Hyde Park, when a spectator, standing at a short distance from his Majesty, who was on horseback, fell, shot through the left thigh. On subsequent examination, it was discovered that a soldier had inadvertently used a ball cartridge. This accident, rumour quickly magnified into an attempt upon

the King's life. Unfortunately, it was undoubtedly the precursor of one; for on the evening of the same day, the Royal Family honoured the performances at Drury Lane Theatre with their presence, on which occasion James Hatfield fired a pistol at the King. It was at first suspected, as Lord Grenville intimates, when communicating these alarming incidents to his brother, that Hatfield had accomplices; in short, had been employed by a revolutionary club, known as the Corresponding Society, to commence a Reign of Terror; but a careful examination proved that the man was insane, and although one fellow was taken into custody for hissing and hooting the King, as he ran after the royal carriage on his Majesty's return from the theatre, the almost universal impulse of loyalty which immediately followed, was satisfactory evidence of the soundness of public feeling.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, May 16, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

The papers will inform you of the double escape we had yesterday. The first was plainly, and out of all question, an accident; the more certainly so, as the man shot was thirty or forty yards to the left of the King, and the soldier firing it must therefore have been in a position from whence he could not, if he had intended it, have hoped to reach the King, without pointing his piece in so oblique a direction as to be remarked.

The other man is a soldier, whom his Captain declares to have been discharged from the 15th Light Dragoons in 1796 for lunacy. There seems little doubt that he will on his trial establish that plea. But it is remarkable enough, that he certainly has since that time lived among some of the people of

the Corresponding Society; and such a man is just the sort of instrument that they would naturally pitch upon to execute so diabolical a purpose.

The King's behaviour on the occasion was in the highest degree firm, manly, and composed; and that of the audience was everything that could be wished. The particulars of the thing itself are accurately told in all the papers.

We vote to-day a joint Address from the two Houses. What a horrible thing it is to think of the danger we have run, and to reflect that we are every day exposed to the same peril, both from wickedness and madness.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

No foreign mails nor Irish papers.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, May 19, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

Hammond will send you the bulletin of our German news, which is certainly much more favourable than the French gasconades had given us reason to fear. Wickham writes in very good spirits. Kray had been successively joined by all his detachments. He had given full credit to the reports of the decisive victory of the 11th at Genoa, and had made all his arrangements in consequence, with a view to pass the Rhine the moment he should hear from Melas, that the latter had put his army in motion to support him. In consequence of this, he had brought his cannons and magazines forward, and was found by no means in a situation of defence when Massena made his attack.

On the whole, however, it does not appear that the latter has gained any considerable advantage; and Wickham seems to expect that Kray would be able to stand his ground till Melas's success relieves him. It is, however, an anxious interval.

I have sent your proxy to Cooke.

Telegraph intelligence tells us that the fleet anchored in Torbay yesterday morning, which is good comfort with this furious storm. The French have moved seventeen of their ships into the inner harbour, and marched away their troops; so Paddy will have no aid from his friend Bonaparte this year.

Ever yours,

G.

As may be gathered from the notes that follow, Ireland divided the attention of statesmen with the continent; the former was considered the vulnerable portion of the United Kingdom; and it was anticipated that there an attempt at invasion would be made from across the Channel. Another source of interest and anxiety existed in the state of political feeling in the sister island; in this crisis, it became highly desirable to expand the influence of government by every available means, and its supporters were, therefore, more than usually active in strengthening their position.

RICHARD GRACE, ESQ., M.P., TO EARL TEMPLE.

May 21, 1800.

My Lord,

I have been down among my friends in Ballyadanes (the collieries,) which when visited is the first interest in our county; and I find them steady to a man. I also find my Ossory friends, that is your lordship's, Sir John Frekes and my tenants, with their connections, strenuous and anxious as I could wish. Lord Cavan, Mr. Grattan, Mr. Waller, of Limerick, and Mr. Evans' interest have declared for me, and the Catholics are unanimous in my support. The

greater part of the above (making nearly one third of the county,) give me both their votes.

On the other side, Lord Ossory has declared for Mr. Pole and Sir John Parnell; this is their only acquisition, for the rest of their known supporters are the interests which we always counted inimical—namely, Lord de Vesci, Mr. Stubbs, Sir Robert Staples, and Mr. Pigott, together with Mr. Warburton's connections, all which united do not amount to one quarter of the county.

The loss of Lord Ossory is very vexatious, but it must make our friends more anxious to preserve the rest; and I take the liberty to suggest that no time can be lost, whenever you have opportunity to apply either to Mr. Lodge Morris, or Lord Beaulieu, or Colonel Dunne.

Lord Portarlington though most strongly solicited by Mr. Pole, &c., has given no encouragement either to him or to Parnell. Securing him would determine the contest, and shut out Parnell for ever; and Lord P.'s interest is so closely concerned in the return being in favour of a man possessed of personal interest chiefly, and in whom the county representation could not be rendered perpetual, (as in the case of Parnell and Mr. Pole's junction,) that his friends must obviously see where his interest ought to be directed, and this circumstance must have great weight with Lord Mc'Cartney or Colonel Wortley.

Having sufficiently harrassed your Lordship on the Queen's county, I shall only add one word relating to Lord Castlereagh. For reasons, I could wish to avoid an interview. His Lordship can be trusted, but his deputies so long accustomed to work with Parnell, might disclose and prevent me from benefiting by my other interest. All benefit I can derive from government, can only be in compliment to your friendly recommendation. I am nothing in the scale, yet my determined resolution, if successful, is to vote, not for them, but as you direct; therefore my

pledge and honour is to you, and not to them. Moreover Coote tells me he has mentioned my name to Lord C., which (though unauthorised by me,) is some notice to him; and I believe Mr. Cooke has told his Lordship of the interest you are pleased to take for me. If under any peculiar circumstances, your Lordship thinks I ought to apply to government, could not this application be made through the Chancellor?

Your ever obliged, and faithful servant,

RICHARD GRACE.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, May 24, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

A mail is come in, but I have no further accounts from Wickham. French papers to the 21st, contain no further accounts since the taking Memmingen.

I have received your letter, and will do as you desire about the house you mention.

Pray write to those you can, to get them to attend the Divorce Bill in the House of Commons, where there is a violent opposition to it, composed of the same materials as we had to contend with.

We hope to be with you on Wednesday.

It was scarcely possible for a statesman to disclose the interest he felt in maintaining the political importance of his family in a manner more characteristic of a sagacious mind and manly nature than Lord Grenville has shown in the following communication. To see three generations succeeding each other in the race of honour, and filling the highest offices in the service of the state, was a

privilege of the value of which no man could be more sensible. Nothing can be finer than his advice—unless it be the spirit that pervades every sentence of it; but the new Grenville who was about to follow the devious path to greatness his kinsmen had trod into a firm and direct thoroughfare, was well worthy of the solicitude of one of the most enlightened and disinterested of them all. The qualifications for official duties which Lord Temple possessed promised a brilliant future, and these borne in mind, it will not be difficult to understand the desire of his uncle that they should have every advantage in their development.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, June 4, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I had last night a long conversation with your son, who showed me your letter to him, and he has this morning sent me that of yesterday. I own to you fairly, that I am not convinced by either of them; and I see that his own mind rather leans to the opinion which I entertain, and which I stated to him, as I knew you would wish me to do, with the same freedom and openness, as if I had been discussing the subject with you.

We have all but one common object—that of his entering in a manner creditable to himself, upon those habits of business which may make him useful to his country in the rank to which he is born, and a credit and honour to the family to which he belongs.

The usual mode of doing this is now open to him; and nothing prevents his beginning that course which has been usual with this view, except a doubt in your mind whether his taking these subordinate offices, which alone, in the usual course

of affairs, lead to the higher situations, may not be ascribed by his enemies to a desire of grasping the emoluments of those offices, rather than to the wish of making them the step to situations of more trust and responsibility.

That this will be said of him (as it will of every one else who holds any office whatever in this country,) there is no doubt; but so it would be if he held any situation short of cabinet office, and the admitting such an apprehension to influence his conduct, would be little less than determining to exclude himself, if not during his own life, at least certainly during yours, from all pursuits of honourable ambition in public life.

The alternative you suggest, has this first great objection to it, that it is new, and that no reasonable judgment can therefore be formed of its precise effect on his future situation and prospects. You must see that while he continued in such a situation, so far from rising, even by the natural course of succession, in the line of public office, he will see a new competitor created against him every time that a vacancy at the Admiralty, Treasury or India Board is filled up; and that whenever his own merit, his rank and station in the world, or the joint operation of both, shall enable him to step from this new and ambiguous situation into one of the regular and established offices, that change will not take place without exciting envy or complaint among all those persons, who being already in the regular line, will then conceive themselves to be passed over.

Not thinking myself, of course, at liberty to talk to Pitt on this idea, I cannot say what his disposition on the subject would be; it would, perhaps, relieve him from a present difficulty, but I should much doubt whether he would think it consistent with his general duty, or with the interests of government, to lower the first steps in the regular line of office, so much as to admit that a man of rank and independent property cannot take them without personal discredit. This would, at least, be very

inconsistent with the sentiment he expressed, when first Lord Temple's wish was mentioned to him.

You do not recollect when you mentioned to your son that this was not the course which Pitt's own friends have pursued, that it was precisely so in the cases of Lord Arden, Lord Camden, Lord Bathurst, and Lord Belgrave; and that if there have been lately fewer persons of that description, it is because the war has filled the Admiralty with naval men.

Besides all this, a stronger objection than all the rest arises in my mind, from my knowledge of the Commission of Trade, and the business transacted there. I speak with perfect certainty, when I say that no man not attached to that board by a distinct official situation, making him perfectly responsible for the business transacted there, or brought from thence into Parliament, will ever continue for six months to give his attendance there for the amusement of hearing my friend, Lord Liverpool, make business out of nothing, or prolong and amplify what business there is, in order to contrive that it may last him out the morning hours, for which he has no other employment. It would be enough to give a young man an incurable disgust for all public business; but I am certain it would disgust any man from continuing his attendance there in an unofficial, irresponsible situation.

I state all this to you so much at large, because your objections, and your reasoning, apply as much to the Treasury hereafter, as to the Admiralty now.

With respect to the particular question of the present vacancy, it is one certainly of less importance to him; but even now, I own I think the difference of Treasury hereafter and Admiralty now, will not compensate to him the loss of time, and of official habits.

My opinion, therefore, would be to take what now offers itself, and I own I should have singular pleasure in seeing a third generation fairly *entered* in the line of public business, and

seeing him avail himself of the opportunity to acquire, in addition to good talents, habits of office, and familiar acquaintance with the subjects and the topics of public debate.

Ever, my dearest brother,

Yours most affectionately,

GRENVILLE.

The interest which the Marquis of Buckingham had taken in the Union, is noticed without exaggeration in the following letter. The most difficult part of the legislative process was accomplished, and, notwithstanding the fierceness of the resistance it met with in its earlier stages, without any of those rebellious explosions which had been the ordinary effect of political excitement. The writer also does justice to the important services of Lord Castlereagh, in carrying forward this great measure.

MR. S. HAMILTON TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dublin, 16th June, 1800.

MY LORD,

I do not expect that this will convey to your Lordship any information that will be new to you; but when I acquaint you that the Union bill has passed both our Houses of Parliament, I embrace the opportunity of congratulating your Lordship on the success of a measure in which you have taken so strong a part; which will pacify, improve, and secure Ireland, and will bind the fasces of the empire. All these advantages are not to be perfected in the course of a week; but I am confident in my belief that, with a little careful tending, the plant will, in its natural growth, produce those good fruits. Lord Castlereagh's abilities have been highly distinguished in the leading of the business through the House of Commons, and with a very superior knowledge of the subject, not only upon the general principles of policy, but

upon the details in which it might have been supposed that others would have been at least his equals. Your Lordship will be glad to know that the completion of the measure has not been followed by the slightest commotion or disturbance.

The King's providential escape* is a matter of universal gratulation to these kingdoms, to Europe, indeed, to the world. Especial congratulations to your Lordship are offered with peculiar pleasure by one who was a witness of the anxious interest you took upon a former occasion in His Majesty's safety, and the firmness of your attachment to his dignity. It must be a sensible gratification to him, to see how strongly his people feel the value of his precious life.

I hope the public papers speak truly when they announce Lord Temple as coming forward in high situation. I shall be happy to have this additional subject of congratulation.

Appointments were now being more freely offered to the Grenvilles, which possibly arose from their increasing political influence. In this particular instance, there were substantial claims for reward, through services already rendered, as well as in the existence of ability to afford assistance when required. It is evident that Mr. Pitt cordially recognized Mr. Thomas Grenville's talents and experience.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

July 2.

My dearest Brother,

In the very moment of the post going out, I have only time for one word to say that I am this instant informed by William, that he has concluded with Pitt for my succeeding Lord Sydney†

* May 15.

† Thomas Townsend, first viscount. He died on the 13th of June.

in the Chief Justiceship of Eyre; but it is wished to keep this a secret for a few days. Nothing has yet passed upon the nature of the *tenure*, but William says he has no great doubt of that likewise being done in a satisfactory manner, from the kindness and grace of Pitt's speaking to him on the subject.

If it is given for life, it really becomes a considerable object, although, in truth, I know little or nothing of its real value, more than that I believe it to be from £1600 to £1800 per annum. I ought to ask how far it would suit your convenience to re-elect me at Buckingham, but that I know your kind and warm heart so well in all which regards me, that I will not allow myself to ask more than whether any one day will be more agreeable to you than any other for my writ being moved.

If time had allowed it, you will easily judge how anxious I should have been for previous communication with you; but I could not help agreeing with William that if the thing was an object, it should not be left to suffer a day's delay. If it is for life, it is a great object.

God bless you, dearest and best of brothers.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, 7th July, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

Your own letter was expressed with all that kindness which belongs to your warm and tried affection for me; and the enclosure which you sent to me was highly gratifying to me in confirming so strongly to me the affectionate interest of which, in this transaction, I had already received every possible evidence and proof. I agree with you likewise in thinking that this arrangement offers the possibility of more active parliamentary business than what has hitherto appeared to be within my reach; and, if all that I hear upon the subject from my brother of Mr. Pitt's wishes, be not too highly coloured by the desire which William himself seems to entertain, of seeing me more forward

in public business, that course might well appear not to be impracticable. If, on the one hand, I have had too much pride or too little ambition to obtrude myself where it seemed to me that I was neither desired nor wanted, I trust that, on the other hand, I shall not be found to hang back from, or to neglect any fair rank of public service. I have written to Mr. Pitt to express my best acknowledgments for the promptitude and kindness which I understand, from my brother, that he has showed towards me in all that has passed respecting this arrangement, and I have taken occasion to add to this my very sincere desire to exert whatever limited means I may possess, in any shape in which they may be thought useful.

I know nothing respecting the value or the tenure of the office, but William seems to take for granted, that when the grant shall be made out, it will not, in the latter respect, differ from the shape in which it has been granted in the last two instances, viz., to Lord Sydney and to Mr. Villiers; and I suppose that, after his return to town to-morrow, he will take some early opportunity of ascertaining this circumstance, and of fixing the time at which the writ will be moved for Buckingham.

In this state of uncertainty, I cannot, as you see, enough command my time to determine to meet you at Wotton; but you will easily believe that I will do so, if I can.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

July 9, 1800.

My dear Brother,

I write one line to tell you that, although the attempt to burn the frigates at Dunkirk did not succeed, owing to our fire-ships drifting ashore, yet Captain Campbell succeeded in bringing away a forty-four gun frigate, which will repay us for the loss of our fire-ships blown up.

William tells me that Pitt very readily acquiesces in making

the grant for life, provided that the King shall not object to the proposition as diminishing the influence of the crown.

I have heard to-day from Pelham,* whose father held it, that the salary of this place is not more than £1300 per annum. To Lord Pelham it was made up £2000, to Lord Sydney, £3000. William seems disappointed at this report, which comes as you see from good authority, and means to speak to Pitt concerning it. Perhaps they will find some middle measure between these different establishments; but it is a subject of which I know very little, and one which I am entirely unfit to discuss, even if it should be a fit matter of discussion. Of course, I cannot yet see my way to any probable day for the moving of the writ, as I believe the passage of any such grant through the seals is not very rapid. I have received a very handsome letter from Pitt in answer to mine.

God bless you, dearest brother.

Charles Street, 16th July, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

Mr. Pitt will, as I undertand, propose my appointment to-day to the King, after which my writ will be moved on Monday next, but not sooner, because we may have a division on Friday upon the address, or answer to the King's message. After Monday, therefore, the 21st, the re-election might take place whenever you please. If you see no objection to Monday se'nnight, the 28th, that would suit me very well, and I should like extremely to pass a week with you at Wotton immediately afterwards, if that is agreeable to your projects. William is likewise very desirous of passing a week with you at Wotton, and as parliament will be prorogued either on the 29th or 30th, he can come on that very day, and ensure his passing a week with you if it suits your convenience.

God bless you, dearest brother.

* Second Baron, and first Earl of Chichester. He died 8th of Jan., 1805.

P.S.—Pray let me know your arrangements without loss of time. I open my letter to say that Pitt has received a favourable answer from the King, as to the *tenure* of the offices; with respect to the salary, Pitt will look into the matter, and that is quite sufficient for me, nor do I think it right, all things considered, that any stress should be laid upon it either by my brother or myself.

I kiss hands next Wednesday.

The First Consul was putting forth all his energies in hostile demonstrations by sea and land. A mighty armament was at Brest; a large contribution from the naval resources of France and Spain. He designed, strengthening it, not only with all the available ships at L'Orient, Rochefort, and Toulon, but with those at the Spanish ports, Ferrol, Carthagena, and Cadiz, and these combined fleets, taking on board a considerable army, as well as a company of comedians, were destined for Alexandria. His military preparations were on a scale equally grand, but had the immense advantage of being under his immediate control. He took the field in person, with a well-appointed force, and lost no time in measuring his strength with the Austrian generals in Italy. The first results are described in the following communications.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, June 24, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

The game is up in Italy. We have received from Calais a telegraphic bulletin, in which it appears (as far as can be made out from the terms of it,) that Melas and Bonaparte fought a

general action* on 14th, in which the former was completely defeated; and that in consequence of this defeat, the Austrian general has stipulated to surrender, in four or five days afterwards, all the strong places in Italy to the French, except Peschiera and Mantua, and has agreed to an armistice, during the time of receiving the answer from Vienna, to a proposal of treating for peace. If the answer is unfavourable, hostilities are to recommence in ten days after it is received. But what hostilities can the Austrians carry on, with the French in possession of all their magazines, and of every strong place in Piedmont, Genoa, and Lombardy?

I think what I have stated is the sense of the message, but it is not clearly expressed. Enough, however, is said to show that the Austrians have lost Italy.

As this happened so late as ten days ago, we shall still be perhaps a fortnight before we receive any direct account of these transactions, either from Italy or from Vienna. Till then it is in vain to reason on the motives of so unprecedented an agreement. The consequences, at least those which are immediate, are more easy to be judged of. Our own conduct must be guided by events, but as long as any continental power will maintain a contest with France, for the objects for which we have fought, I shall never be for abandoning them; and when that hope is over, I shall never relinquish that of showing that this country is in no situation to acquiesce, under any but advantageous and honourable, though probably neither secure nor permanent, terms of peace.

Ever my dearest brother,

Most affectionately yours,

G.

* Marengo.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

June 24, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

Although the evening 'Sun' will probably give you, more accurately than I can, the desperate bad news of to-day, I will not omit to write you word that there arrived French papers this morning from Calais to Dover, with *telegraphic news,* which reached Calais on the 22nd, and which describes Bonaparte to have obtained a complete victory on the 14th instant, over the Austrians, in which he took 8000 prisoners and forty pieces of cannon, killed 6000, and reduced the Austrians to capitulate, and to surrender by capitulation, Alexandria, Tortona, Turin, Coni, Genoa, Milan, and Pizzighetone, which were to be delivered up to the French in the course of four or five days subsequent to the battle. The battle is said to be fought at Marengo; there is Marengo near Alexandria, and Marengo near Stradella. The telegraph adds, that upon this capitulation an armistice took place, in order to send to Vienna, and that hostilities were to recommence in ten days after the messenger's return, if the answer from Vienna was not favourable to the propositions which had been sent.

Why Melas should so hurry to surrender all Italy, because he was beat and lost 14,000 men, I do not know nor understand, but there seems no reason to doubt the fact, which they were celebrating at Calais the day before yesterday with great rejoicings, and which decides certainly upon the campaign, and will probably decide Thugot not to make another, but to treat with the enemy whom he cannot beat. This is a cursed business. God bless you, dearest brother; from the top of Cole's Hill I shall look down upon all the storms of Europe with great philosophy, and prepare the Aylesbury yeomanry against the all-conquering Bonaparte.

Ever yours most affectionately,

T. G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, June 27, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

We have to this hour no confirmation of the French news by papers, or in any other manner. I do not, however, doubt the facts, though I am willing to flatter myself that what Melas has bought so dear, may be the power of drawing together all his army upon the Po, where backed by Mantua and Peschiera, he may be able, if necessary, to recommence hostilities in a condition more favourable in point of military position, than that from which the Austrians started last year.

It is, however, certainly more probable that these events will lead to negotiation; but it is of the utmost importance to the tone of that negotiation, that the situation of Austria should be respectable and even formidable.

The plan you mention is, as I am satisfied on the most detailed examination, quite impracticable, unless we had full twice the numbers you mention, and even then it would be very hazardous. The reason is, the manner in which the force must be separated, from the very nature of the operations; and the consequent necessity of having each part strong enough to meet all that the enemy could bring against you.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

June, 1800.

We have heard from Vienna as late as of the 19th. All was then right; in high spirits, breathing nothing but the vigorous prosecution of the war in conjunction with this country. On the 21st, they might receive the news of Marengo, and all the successive accounts which followed it must have tended to

increase their embarrassment. I wish they may have firmness to reject all negotiation in the present moment. I am satisfied it would be the wisest, as well as the most honourable course for them to pursue. But I rather expect they will make to us a proposal to treat jointly with them.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

Pitt has very readily promised to recommend to the King that the grant shall be made for life, but he says he cannot quite answer for it, as the King sometimes makes difficulties of this, on the ground of its tying up the patronage, &c. I have, however, no fear of this. There is also some question about the amount, which I have just heard of, and must try to settle as well as we can.

The impression created in the public mind in England by the brilliant successes of Bonaparte in Italy, was exhibited in the activity which pervaded our martial institutions. A conviction that a contest was impending, in which the entire military strength of the nation must be employed, was evidently daily gaining ground, and the King put himself forward prominently to encourage the warlike spirit of his subjects in every quarter within reasonable distance from the metropolis. A lively writer who possessed singular advantages as a spectator, has thus recorded his impressions of some of these Royal progresses.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, July 15th, 1800.

My Lord,

Nothing in this part of the world but military business; it is

really the scene of a country the seat of war. We have within ten miles of us upwards of twenty-two thousand men; and on Thursday next there will be an exhibition which has hardly ever been seen in this country; it will consist of the parade, in the best clothing and accoutrements, of very nearly thirty thousand effective men, and certainly in the very finest order—the cavalry particularly. The Staffordshire are the only militia. The finest regiments here in infantry, are said to be the 4th, the Royals, and the 69th, also the 25th: they are all capital. In cavalry, the 3rd Dragoon Guards, and the Royals. There is a corps of cavalry called the York Hussars, composed of Germans. They are fine men, but ill-mounted, and, in my opinion, a bad description—they consist of German deserters from all countries. It is the fashion, however, to admire them much. There is likewise another corps much more useful, and, in my opinion good, which is Riflemen. They consist of upwards of 400, and are commanded by Colonel Manningham. The King leaves this neighbourhood at the end of this month, when the camp breaks up; and it is understood, indeed, there is no secret in the language of those who are likely to know, that the whole is destined for an expedition. The daily history of the successes of the French are too calamitous to write upon; notwithstanding, there was much rejoicing last night at the news of the Emperor having joined our treaty, and at the prospect of his hostile determination.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Always your very faithful and affectionate humble servant,

W. H. Fremantle.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.P., TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Weymouth, Aug. 29, 1800.

My Lord,

We have been at this place the last fortnight. I did not intend coming, but having had the offer of a very good house,

we were tempted. The Royal Family are all well, excepting Princess Sophia, who has been, and is still extremely unwell. I understand, however, she is likely to recover. Excepting a few of their friends, there is not a soul that is known here, though the place is crowded to a degree. We have the 'Cambrian,' 'St. Fiorenzo,' and 'Syren,' and during the fine hot weather have sailed a good deal. Of the military, we have the Greys at Dorchester and the new barracks; the York Hussars, encamped on your *old ground;* eleven companies of Light infantry (from the regiments encamped at Windsor) encamped on the *look-out,* under the command of Colonel Leveson Gower; the Shropshire (which is the very worst regiment I ever saw,) in the town barracks; and the Somersetshire, which is not a great deal better, encamped just beyond the turnpike. There have been as yet no military amusements whatever; but the Duke of York is come this day, and I suppose there will of course be something of that sort next week. I understand the Greys are to be reviewed. The party at the Lodge consists of the Damers, Sir W. and Lady Pitt, Lord and Lady Dudley, Mr. and Mrs. D. Grosvenor, and ourselves. There have been occasional visitors for a few days, and Mr. Wyndham is now here, and remains some time. The Princess Charlotte is at Weymouth, but not at the Lodge. Lady Elgin has a house in Charlotte Row.

Not a word has expired upon the subject of the expedition. Everybody is most anxious about it; but I think in general, a peace is wished for, before the object, whatever it may be, is attempted. We called at Lord Radnor's on our way here. I suppose you know Lord Folkestone is going to be married to Lady Catherine Clinton, Lady Lincoln's daughter. She has thirty thousand pounds upon her marriage, and twenty more when she arrives at a certain age. I see by the papers my brother has got the 'Ganges.' I am delighted at it, as I was fearful he had remained idle so long, that he would not be inclined to go to sea again. I am told by the navy officers here,

that she is as fine a seventy-four as sails. I think him very fortunate to have had the appointment to so good a ship. I understand Lord St. Vincent is exerting himself to get all his old Mediterranean friends about him in the Channel fleet, from which I take it for granted the 'Ganges' will belong to his squadron.

Believe me always, my Lord,
Your very faithful and affectionate humble servant,
W. H. FREMANTLE.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, July 22, 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

An accidental hurt in my right hand, makes me write with difficulty for a day or two, I therefore only acknowledge your letter. The peers are made—seventeen or eighteen in number. No application could now be in time to add that which you propose to the present list; and as we shall meet so soon, I postpone any further step till we can talk over how far it is worth while to make a great point (and such it must be) for the sake of an object which, with an united parliament, seems so very important.

Ever most affectionately,
G.

The writer of the following note, witnessed a great deal of active service, of which he has preserved a graphic account that will be found worthy of perusal.

CAPTAIN T. F. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ganges, Portsmouth, 30th August, 1800.

My ship (is to be) quite perfect, I am told. I have every

reason to be perfectly satisfied with her, and my appointment, as both Lord Northesk* and Lumsden were making applications for her, I hear. My officers are all appointed, and I have not a single person of any description that I ever sailed with before. We are getting on very fast, and the preference is given to ships of the line. I keep very steady to business, and if it was necessary, could be ready in a very short time. Nothing can be more gratifying to me, than the accounts I hear of the state and discipline of the fleet. I feel as much confidence, and there seems as much respect and obedience in every ship here as at any period of my service. It is said there are three, or perhaps four ships in the Channel fleet, that are not so well regulated as they ought to be; but I think a short time will see an end of them. I have had the good fortune to get four tolerable midshipmen and a coxswain from Wallace, out of the 'Brunswick.' My lower masts are rigged, and we stow our ground tier on Monday.

'Ville de Paris' goes to Spithead on Monday. She is in high repute as to discipline, fitting, &c. I don't think they have lost three men since she has been in the harbour.

The 'Triumph' is in dock, but will be out next week. I dined with Captain and Lady Louisa Hervey yesterday. The ship is so well manned, and so established, that a few days after will equip him for Spithead. Our Commander-in-Chief here is a perfect imbecile; he never gives an order, and seldom admits anybody into his house. Before I left Swanbourne, I endeavoured to get some boys from thence, Winslow and Munsley, to go with me to Portsmouth; and though I talked to the overseers of the parishes, and the boys themselves, particularly two from Winslow, who came to me for relief, the sons of a man of the name (I believe) of Higgins, whom you discharged, at my

* William, seventh earl. He died 28th May, 1831, after attaining the rank of Admiral of the White and Rear-Admiral of Great Britain.

request, from the militia; still I could not persuade any one of them to go, nor did any *one* of the overseers dare to urge them on the subject. I can only say, that I should most willingly receive any lads from Buckinghamshire, who are, in my opinion, preferable to the wicked vagabonds that are to be picked up at Portsmouth. By way of inducement to the boys to go, I consented to take the son of a farmer at Swanbourne, whose name is Hutchings, and the boy is to join the ship immediately.

I remain,

Your Lordship's most faithful servant,

T. F. Fremantle.

The government of Austria had just entered into a closer union with that of Great Britain, when it received intelligence of the French successes in Italy. The political thermometer in the Court of Vienna had a sudden and rapid fall. The fever heat of attachment to England, of the preceding day, subsided to zero of prudent indifference. The First Consul, with a suggestive recollection of the fable of the bundle of sticks, having failed in his effort to disunite England from her allies, had addressed himself with the same object to Austria, with a result equally unsatisfactory. The Cabinet of Vienna, however, soon after their receipt of the Italian news, thought it advisable to reconsider their opinion of the proposals they had rejected. It appeared to them, that if General Bonaparte were very desirous of peace, they ought not rashly to deny their country so great a blessing; and after a somewhat hasty deliberation, they sent a major-general, possessed of no diplomatic qualification, to Paris, with a letter from the Emperor, expressing pacific intentions, and requesting information as to the character of the peace the

First Consul had been so good as to propose. The feeling created in England by this proceeding, and the negotiations which followed at Paris, as might be expected, are dwelt upon in the cotemporary correspondence.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sept. 11, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I will endeavour to get Mrs. Green's pension completed; but I have done all that I can officially do about it.

The French seem to mean to bully Vienna into their own terms, and I fear Kray's army is in no condition to resist them. If it were, I should like fighting not a little better than treating in this moment.

I really have confidence in Pulteney's judgment. His courage is beyond all question. I am, therefore, induced to hope that all was done which the situation would allow. Our seamen there think otherwise, but they are not the best judges in the case.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Sept. 15, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

We are still in suspense whether Tom is to undertake his journey France-ward or not. A few days will now probably decide.*

I am scandalized at all the nonsense of our judges, &c., about forestalling, and attribute to them a great part of the present riots. The accounts I have seen of the harvest are very unfavourable; and I am seriously alarmed to think how we are

* To join the plenipotentiaries of France and Austria at Lunéville.

to struggle through such another winter. I am confident that the true remedy would be to repeal all the present laws, and to enact no others on the subject. But this doctrine is too repugnant to the law-making frenzy of the present age, to make many converts.

What can we do about Irish tithes? I want to convert them into a tithe of rent, and to make them demandable of the landlord; and if on the failure of payment they are paid by the tenant, that the parson's receipt to him shall be a quittance, *pro tanto*, of his rent.

But then comes the iniquitous resolution of the House of Commons in Ireland, about Tithe of Adjustment, and the unequal practice which is stated to prevail in different parts of Ireland, and which would, as we are told, make such an arrangement as above, though speculatively equal, yet practically so unequal, as to lead to the utmost discontent.

Pray turn your thoughts to this, and let me know the result of your opinion. All seem agreed, that unless something be done on this subject, we shall never get rid of the discontent of the town farmers and peasantry in Ireland.

God bless you,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sept. 25, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

It is really not easy for me to say whereabouts we are with Otto.* There seems certainly to be some anxiety on their part to enter into negotiation, but we are still wide of each other, even as to the preliminary points.

You will have seen that the Emperor† is gone to his army,

* A French diplomatist then in London.

† Of Austria.

but that he has lowered the spirit of this measure, by the most contemptible proclamation that ever issued from an Imperial Chancery.

I know there is still substantial force enough in Austria and England to send Bonaparte back again to Corsica; but there seems little hopes of its being used for that purpose.

I am delighted at your manner of recommending to us yeomen, not to let ourselves be pelted, (as my Lord Mayor says,) *because we be used to it.* I am here a truant and deserter from my squadron, while Sir W. Young is galloping them up and down, to the terror of all rioters, Jacobins, and French.

God bless you,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Coleshill, 8th October, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I have been campaigning at Aylesbury, and have lost sight of the politics of Europe; the last that I have heard of them, is that there is no longer any question of naval armistice now that the Emperor has so ignominiously purchased that of the continent. To what degree Bonaparte will endeavour to push the appearance of proferred negotiation to England seems uncertain; but I feel quite persuaded still, as I have been from the first, that his real intention is to drive Austria to a separate peace first, and trust to the solitary station which we shall occupy in the war, together with the domestic pressure of famine and distress, for imposing upon us likewise conditions of separate peace. Confident as I am that these are the real objects of Bonaparte, I do not like to think of the success which I expect him to have in the pursuit of them. Though we have got Malta, I see that we have lost America, and it is equally plain that the first use to which France will put their new treaty with that country, will be that of endeavouring to

embroil them with us upon the same point which Lord Whitworth and Henry have just been settling for us at Copenhagen. In this state of things, however, I do not in the least expect any summons for the present to Lunéville or to Paris; any suspicion of that event happening would make me impatient to see you before so great a misfortune shall befall me as that of being called upon formally to register the overbearing power of the French Republic, and the disgraceful confession of the folly and weakness of all the humbled States and Powers of Europe. The mortification of such a commission is so evident, that I shall not be suspected of affectation in considering my acceptance of it as the greatest sacrifice which can ever be asked of me, or made by me.

God bless you, dearest brother, you are much wanted for the Sessions of to-morrow. If anything would make me, on the sudden, an acting magistrate for Bucks, it would be to go to the Sessions, and plainly declare my opinion that, whatever be the farmer's price of wheat, the labourer's pay must be proportioned to it. This is my whole creed upon the subject, and I believe more in it than in any other device which this interesting discussion has suggested, either out of my own reflections, or from the information of others.

God bless you, dearest brother.

P.S. You ask whether I believe in calling Sir J. Pulteney to account. I have not the least belief that there is any intention of enquiry, or of censure. The royal officers are certainly violent on the subject; the army, as I hear, agreed with their commander.

While England was occupied in contending against hostile influences from without, there was an influence equally inimical within her territory that demanded attention. The high price of the necessaries of life, an unavoidable evil in the circumstances of the country, created intense distress, particularly among the industrious

poor. The combination of high prices with low wages, pressed heavily on the artizan and agricultural labourer, and in some places led to riotous and other mischievous demonstrations. The contingency of invasion with civil discord, alarmed the timid; and more than one of our public men, influenced by its menacing aspect, addressed himself earnestly to the consideration of the evil. The observations expressed in the communications which follow, will be found to deserve very attentive perusal; if they do not embody all the philosophy of political economy, they present a philosophy quite as good, and a great deal more comprehensive.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Monday, 20th Oct., 1800.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Your letter with its enclosures found me here this morning; and, as I hear that you would be glad to hear what was the opinion of my brother upon the subject, I have communicated to him what you had written, and I am stopping his London messenger for a short time, in order to make no delay in your hearing from me. My own opinion is so strongly inclined to the measure of increasing the wages of the labourer, instead of supplying the deficiency of them by a misapplication of the poor's rates, that I own I should not easily be diverted from pursuing that beneficial course. I was aware when I wrote to you, of many great opinions, and very old prejudices also, standing in the way of this measure, but finding some of those persons to whom I had talked upon this subject, agree with me as strongly as you do in the propriety of the measure, it seemed to me that it might be a great public benefit, if the tone were a little given to the country in the first instance, and that to parliament and to government it might be desirable that they

might be strengthened and fortified in this discussion by any such respectable authority as could have been furnished from your magistracy, and yourself having already taken the lead and begun to set the example. In this view likewise, I was glad to think that it would have been honourable to yourself, as well as useful to the country, to have found you active in running on in this course of benevolence. I must not, however, conceal from you that my brother's opinions are strongly and entirely against your taking this step. He objects vehemently to any other measure respecting the wages of labour, except that of endeavouring to raise them by personal example, and thinks that he should feel himself obliged to oppose strongly, in parliament, any other measure whatever for this purpose. In the next place, he says that he is the only person in government who thinks it desirable that wages should be raised even by example; and, in the third place, he thinks that parliament being summoned for the 11th, to consider the whole subject, it would have an ungracious and unbecoming aspect for you to preoccupy the ground; and that it might be fairly stated against you in the country, that it was fitter to receive the opinions of parliament on this important question, than appear to dictate to it.

Differing as I do with him upon the former points, I own that I do think that there is a good deal of solid substance in this last objection; and I know not how I could advise you to take a step of great responsibility, and some risk of public reputation, for the support of government and parliament, when government would oppose that measure, and parliament might be taught to think that, instead of assisting their deliberations, you were prematurely dictating to them. Upon the whole, therefore, although I still retain the opinion that the measure is just, necessary, and useful, I cannot honestly say that I think it right to advise you to adopt it; and, under all these circumstances, I should recommend to you to wait till parliament has met, and till the discussion has actually begun there upon the subject, before you take any public step in the business.

Government brings forward no measure but that of a guarantee bounty for rice, and for the importation of corn (of which, by the bye, it is incorrectly stated in your letter that the quantity imported is smaller than in preceding years), and they likewise stop the distilleries. In addition to this, they mean to appoint an open committee, but have nothing to propose in it, and look to no measure from it. There is, however, a very useful bill drawn by the Chancellor, to allow the lease of tithes for eleven years, and an additional clause prohibiting the leasing of the small potato grounds in Ireland, except free from tithes. These measures of tithes seem to me to be highly useful. I inclose your letter without remarking upon a few passages which, in my critical humour, I should say were too highly coloured, but which I do not advert to as I cannot, under these circumstances, advise you to send it. The messenger must not wait for my beginning a new sheet. Thank you for your account of Burke's place. £8000 for house and furniture is so enormous, that I doubt whether to pursue it any more; £4000 would be too much, and therefore I shall leave it alone.

God bless you, dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Nov. 24, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I return you a letter with the resolutions inclosed, which I have this morning received from you. I do this, first, because *I* am not the chairman of the committee, but Lord Camden, and cannot therefore properly lay before them any papers addressed to me *as such*. But secondly, because I do not conceive that the subject to which those resolutions relate, viz., the increase of labourer's wages forms any part of the matter referred to us by the House; and, lastly, because I think nothing would be more dangerous than to turn committees of either House of Parlia-

ment into committees of correspondence with Courts of Quarter-Session, or any other public body.

If the measure is right (which I greatly doubt) the true way of introducing it into parliament is by petition to either House, or by the regular motion made by some member. If the Corn Committees thought they had anything to do with that question, it is for them to examine witnesses, and call for accounts on the subject. But we shall overthrow the whole constitution of parliament, if we open committees as project-shops to receive communications of resolutions of Quarter-Sessions, Court-Meetings, &c.

The question of labourers' wages is certainly connected, as every other matter which relates to the internal administration of the country must be, with the present dearth of provisions. But, though so connected, it is not referred to us by the House, and I should for one certainly feel much objection to its being so referred. If you fix a minimum for the price of labour, I am at a loss to conceive how you can refuse to fix a maximum for the sale of what that labour produces. My steady persuasion is, that example, and (at the very utmost) the execution of the subsisting laws, can alone remedy the evil, which laws, and the introduction of an artificial system have created, and which new laws, and a system still more forced can only increase.

I may be wrong, and God knows am likely enough to be so; but do not put upon me the necessity of introducing informally into the Committee a paper in which I cannot agree, and which, if I were to introduce it, I must accompany with the reasons of my dissent.

Pray do not forget your promise about the pilchards. I am very desirous of trying that experiment, and the rather because an agent of Lord Fitzwilliam's, whom we examined a few days ago, told us that the people near Peterborough were buying with avidity, herrings at 1*d.* a piece.

God bless you.

The Austrian ambassador referred to in a preceding page, was easily cajoled by the astute Talleyrand into acceding to his views of an arrangement between the two nations. The Battle of Marengo had also been a a very convincing argument at the Prussian Court; and even at St. Petersburg it produced so powerful an impression, that the Emperor Paul could not restrain his admiration of the victor within reasonable limits. In short, the game of the First Consul was apparently won with the first trick.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 8, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I have been so little out of my house during the last fortnight, that my letters, if I had written any, would have been as full of cold and cough as the Archbishop of Grenada's sermons were of apoplexy, in the judgment of Gil Blas. My cold is now reduced to a cough, and therefore I no longer stay in, but have walked down to hear the result of two Hamburg mails arrived this morning. By them it appears that the Italian armistice was to end on the 23rd, and the German armistice on the 28th; indeed, there is an imperfect account, of the Batavian army having been engaged near the Mayne, and the Dutch are said to have been soundly beaten; but I do not know that this intelligence is confirmed. The letters from Vienna of the 25th, are said to be still very stout and sturdy, and by them we hear that Cobentzel is positively ordered to leave Lunéville instantly, if the French will not accede to a joint negotiation. The Emperor of Russia has published a proclamation, in which he asserts he has adopted the measure

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of the embargo, until he shall be assured that we will carry into execution the convention which we *had concluded* last year respecting Malta. We concluded no convention, but we continued to discuss with him, then our ally in the war, the future arrangements for the possession of Malta. He has abandoned our alliance, sent away our minister, twice embargoed our ships, and concluded an arrangement with France for their surrender of Malta to him, while he thought it to be in their power; and now he modestly states his claim from us in consequence of what he is pleased to call a *convention concluded.* Meantime, I rejoice to find that 120 of our Baltic fleet have got safely to Elsinore. His Black Sea squadron had tried to get home through the Bosphorus, but had been driven back by a strong north wind. He has made a new amicable treaty with the Porte at Constantinople for the government of the Venetian Islands, and hitherto has shown every demonstration of friendship towards the Turks.

I do not understand that we have very warmly taken up the occupation of Cuxhaven by the Prussians, 600 of whom have marched into the place, and 1400 more are quartered in the neighbourhood. When I recollect that Cuxhaven has been left to Hamburg for the last 300 years, by the common consent of all the north of Europe, and when I also recollect that Cuxhaven can bar the Elbe entirely, and cut off the King of Great Britain from Bremen and Verden, and Saxe-Lauenburg; when I likewise hear that Prussian troops are posted near Bremen to secure the Weser; and when I see that the Ems is already in the hands of Prussia, by the possession of Emden, I cannot think this a light matter, but should certainly make upon it a very strong and marked remonstrance to Prussia. If we pass it over lightly, they will pursue their projects, and add either Hamburg, or the Hanoverian dominions to their own, in their plan of general peace; if we hold a good counte-

nance and a determined language, they are mere bullies, and will retreat from our resistance.

Thus ends my budget of foreign news; events are still too uncertain to admit of my leaving London in any comfort; and, indeed, if they were otherwise, I should scarce venture to leave London till my troublesome cough shall have left me.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Dec. 11, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I am so tormented with this Corn Committee, which after all, as I foretold, can do nothing, that I have really hardly an instant in the day to spare, to write about Emperors and such like.

War has begun again upon the continent, and Paul and we shall certainly not agree about Malta, or about neutral navigation.

No such convention, as he quotes, was ever signed, though he sent us a project of that date. But the most ample and explicit assurances were given to him, and faithfully acted upon by us, till he withdrew from our alliance; and from our ally, became an enemy. After which we hold ourselves no longer bound by engagements made in the contemplation of consent and co-operation.

He has since set our hands and consciences completely at liberty, by concluding a separate and secret agreement with the enemy on that very subject.

Your most affectionate,

G.

The French government continued to pursue its object with no less skill than energy. To cajole the members of

of the Anglo-Austrian alliance into disunion, and then to destroy them separately, was a scheme worthy of the genius of Talleyrand. The M. Otto mentioned in a preceding letter, was an experienced French diplomatist, then in London, apparently to negociate an exchange of prisoners. He found an opportunity of making himself known to persons connected with the English ministers, and soon afterwards ventured to propose, in the name of the First Consul, the idea of a naval armistice. Upon entering into detail, the conditions upon which he was disposed to treat, were found to be as unsafe to the British, as those Talleyrand had imposed upon Major-General St. Julien, had been to the Austrian Empire. The English ministers proved neither so complaisant, nor so credulous as that unlucky officer, and therefore the negotiation of M. Otto fell to the ground. They, however, declared that they were not unwilling to agree to a suspension of arms by sea and land, upon honourable terms. This elicited another proposal from Paris, but as it was scarcely less favourable to French interests than the preceding, it shared the same fate.

About the same time, France was pressing Austria to accept an arrangement equally prejudicial to England, which the Cabinet of Vienna was in no position either to adopt or to reject. It endeavoured to procrastinate, and Bonaparte satisfied that his diplomacy could only be carried on effectually by the sword, again put his armies in motion, both on the Rhine and in Italy. The former, M. Thiers estimates at 100,000 men, the latter at 120,000. Austria, furnished with subsidies by England,

appeared ready to meet the shock. The Emperor reviewed his army, but was far from satisfied with its effectiveness, and finally purchased a continuation of the armistice with the surrender of three of the strongest fortresses in the kingdom; and Louis Cobentzel was sent to Lunéville, whence he was invited to Paris, to endeavour to establish amicable relations with the French authorities.

There was another government that the First Consul considered worthy of his attention. The United States of America, with feelings of hostility against England, still feverish from their successful revolt, contained elements of mischief that might, he thought, be turned to good account against the power that so steadfastly opposed his own. A treaty was, therefore, entered into between the two Republics, and inaugurated in a manner that could be rendered most flattering to the Americans at the expense of Great Britain. However insincere may have been the admiration the First Consul then professed for American liberty, it was not more opposed to his despotic impulses than was the equally unnatural approval of the same idea by a former ruler of France. Antagonism to England originated both; and in each instance, the cultivation of this animosity met with an equally disastrous termination. Of the two, the most censurable was the sovereign who insulted his own order, while assisting to lessen the dignity of a neighbouring monarch.

We enter no further into the intrigues that, at this period, had their source in Paris, than is necessary to illustrate particular passages of the correspondence now published, and show the difficulties that lay in the path of

the patriotic statesmen, whose principal duty was their detection and overthrow. The services thus rendered to their country, at a most critical period of her history, can scarcely be exaggerated, nor can the interest of that gigantic struggle into which she was forced by the baffled intriguers.

Cobentzel in due time arrived in the French capital, but he could neither be brought to forget his mission, nor himself. The First Consul found him so thoroughly Austrian, that in an interview he indulged in one of those unseemly exhibitions of passion, which at a somewhat later period of his career, not unusually marked his behaviour to the representatives of foreign governments, who could not be induced to adopt Bonaparte ideas. Thiers intimates that in a previous negotiation (Campo Formio) the First Consul had been very rough with Cobentzel; but that on this occasion he was under even less restraint. The plenipotentiary left his presence complaining bitterly of the affront to which he had been subjected, and returned to Lunéville, which had been fixed as the seat of the negotiation, to arrange with Joseph Bonaparte the particulars of a treaty of peace.

At first, the Austrian would not treat unless England was represented in the Conference. Such an intimation was so distasteful to the First Consul, that he put his troops in motion in threatening masses, which, according to the historian of the Consulate, so alarmed the Emperor of Austria, that he commissioned Cobentzel to propose to treat secretly, if an English commissioner were per-

mitted to appear at Lunéville—apparently the better to deceive the English government as to the real nature of the proposed arrangement. Bonaparte, however, would not entertain the idea of an English negotiation, not even to be made a dupe, and the renewal of hostilities was announced on the 28th of November.

France was now bristling with bayonets—at home and abroad she numbered nearly 400,000 soldiers, at least three fourths immediately available for the purposes of war. The available forces of Austria, according to the same authority, might amount to about 300,000; of these the Arch-duke John had under his command in Germany about 80,000 men; and against him and his force the French marched in overwhelming strength. On the 3rd of December, was fought the battle of Hohenlinden, in which the Austrians were defeated with heavy loss by Moreau, assisted by Richepanse, Ney, and other generals possessed of brilliant military talent. Several successes were gained by the French; the Arch-duke John was superseded in the command of the Austrian forces by the Arch-duke Charles, but Moreau was not a commander to be stopped by royal generals; he halted in his career of victory only when close to the gates of Vienna. The Imperial Court sued for peace, and accepted on the 25th of December, terms which nothing but a sense of the most complete humiliation would have induced them to entertain.

While perusing the following communications, the reader cannot fail to recognise the prophetic spirit of some of the passages, the manly spirit of all. Both

Mr. Thomas Grenville and Lord Grenville were thoroughly aware of the true character and tendency of the policy of the First Consul, and no doubt his knowledge of their sentiments influenced his determination to allow no joint negotiation of England and Austria; the terms of which, he must have been aware, would have been suggested by one brother, and carried out by the other.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 13th Dec., 1800.

DEAREST BROTHER,

I write one line only for the purpose of telling you, that we do not yet know any thing of the battle of the 2nd December, except what you have seen in Moreau's letter; but the defeat of the Austrians is confirmed. A courier is just arrived from Cobentzel, whom he left at Lunéville on Tuesday night, and the news of the French victory had already reached Joseph Bonaparte at that place; we must wait for Staremberg's coming to town from Twickenham before we know more. Cobentzel's courier said, (in passing through London to Twickenham,) that he had seen at Lunéville a person from the French army, who described their success as much less than it has been represented, and added in two smaller actions, Moreau had had the worst. If the victory is such as Moreau states it, the Austrian Cabinet will not have nerves enough to resist Bonaparte's demand of separate negotiation. The storm thickens in the north, we can do nothing but face it, and I have good hope that our Cabinet will do this stoutly and decidedly, in spite of the ill success of our continental allies.

There is a vague report in the city, that Paul has been deposed at Petersburg.* Thus ends my budget.

God bless you, dearest brother.

* He was murdered a short time afterwards.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

15th Dec., 1800.

DEAREST BROTHER,

Staremberg maintains that Cobentzel has not said to him one word of the battle of the 2nd, although the messenger says it was universally known at Lunéville; I suppose Staremberg lies, but still we remain in ignorance. I send you the Dresden bulletin of the first success against Moreau; we have French papers of the 11th, that add nothing to Moreau's former letter. There are letters from Italy of the 21st, speaking stoutly of Bellegarde's intentions for the 23rd. Meantime, they have intercepted letters from the French Italian Commissaires, by which it appears that they are naming a Council of Arts to plunder the Florence Gallery, and mean to seize all public stores as confiscated property. It is a false rumour of Paul's imprisonment; one of our factory is just arrived here, but with nothing new except the disgusting confirmation of Paul having marched all our seamen to the confines of Siberia, from whence no one of them will probably return.

I see you agree with me in the necessity of fighting stoutly the battle of the northern confederacy, before it shall have taken any solid shape. I believe the government see it in the same light, and I am confident the country will support them in the contest, if our enemies persist in forcing us to it.

God bless you, dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wednesday.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

In return for your Irish proxy (which I imagine there will be no occasion to use, as you have not vacated that which you have already given to Lord Clare) I send you an English one for the question of our Divorce Bill, which our Princes, two

of them now living in open adultery, think it decent to oppose, in opposition to the Chancellor, the two Chief Justices, &c., &c.

I am full, but will give it to Neville, or some other unexceptionable person. Perhaps you would like Lord Carrington* as well as any other.

A mail to-day, but no news from either army.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Dec. 18, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

I spoke two days ago to Pitt about the Irish peerage, and he assured me that it should be done in time for the patent to pass before the 31st. I have written to him again to observe that there is no time to lose, but I have not got his answer; and, in these times both he and I are so hurried that it still may be several days before I can see him to speak to him upon it. I have no doubt that he has put it in train.

We have a mail to-day, but with no letters from the army later than the morning of the 2nd, when all was full of past and expected success. The story of the victory of the 4th, I have no faith in.

Paul and we have (as you see) quarrelled in good earnest, and we must do our best to teach him better manners. We have, I believe, *frowned down* the confederacy of armed neutrality. This, however, is not yet quite certain.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 19th Dec., 1800.

My dearest Brother,

We still know nothing of the details of the 3rd, and while there is every day a chance of considerable events arising in the cam-

* Robert Smith, a City banker.

paign, I cannot forget that Cobentzel, when we last heard, was still at Lunéville; and, although I do not strongly believe in my going thither now, yet everything is possible while everything continues to be unknown to us; added to this, is the new scene of political difficulty which has arisen in the North; and though my own opinion is, that we must fight that battle instead of negotiating it, yet the present shape of things is too uncertain and precarious, to make me feel confident that the partiality of our friends will not lead them to think that more may be done by me than I shall myself believe. I feel, while I write this, that to anybody but to you I should have the appearance of thinking and writing of this with very great personal conceit; but you, who know all this, and who know exactly how I feel situated, will not be surprised that my letter has the appearance of so much self-importance. In truth, I should have but little enjoyment at Stowe while I felt that every mail might be bringing some event which would hurry me out of the country, before I had time to turn myself round to the fire, and have a quiet and peaceable conversation with you.

After all, things may go on as they do without any question of any troublesome commission to me; but the picture of things is *embrouillé*, and while I feel suspicious of there arising daily some call on me for business, I can neither properly put myself out of the course of it, nor enjoy myself in that state of ignorance which always arises out of absence, and makes the complete enjoyment of the *far niente*. Wickham's bundle of letters, which came yesterday, go down to the 2nd only, and up to that date speak strongly of the ardour and confidence of the Austrian army, and confirm the account of their having taken from the French six cannon, and 800 prisoners. Augereau is said to be thwarting Moreau as much as possible in all his arrangements; but still the real history of the 3rd is *hiatus valde deflendus*. The winter has begun in the north; the King of Sweden has left Stockholm for Petersburg, and the Swedish

herrings have vanished from their coast as soon as he had proclaimed a bounty for them, so that we now can expect them only from the north.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 30th, 1800.

DEAREST BROTHER,

The mail of this day, gives no accounts of the campaign in Germany, so recent as the French papers, by which you see that the Austrians are driven from Saltzburg, on their retreat to Lintz. Lord Minto's letters are of the 11th; and I think it is clear from them, that the Arch-duke Charles was to take the command on the 18th, but I fear these successive retreats will have dispirited the army beyond any reach of immediate exertions. We shall, however, know more by the next messenger, who will arrive to-morrow or next day. Garlike writes me word that Bournonville, at Berlin, states the loss of the French on the 3rd, to have been 10,000 men.

The Austrian army in Italy is described to be in good order, and in good heart; but while they are defending their Mincio, Lecourbe and Moreau, (if they dare,) will have cut them off from the Duchy of Austria. Private letters from Petersburg bring new accounts of Paul's violence, which will extend, I fear, from our sailors to our merchants; but the government here have, I am pretty confident, written upon this subject as it became them. We must rally the true British spirit upon this important subject, and we shall find the country to answer well to the call.

God bless you, dearest brother,

T. G.

P.S.—We know nothing of Cobentzel, who has not, as they say, been more communicative at Vienna, then at London.

The success which had attended the French arms in Germany under Moreau, was equally brilliant in Italy, under Macdonald and Brune, assisted by Marmont, Murat, Suchet, and Dupont. An obstinate battle was fought on the 25th of December, on the Mincio, where the Austrians were posted in strength. The position was forced, though not without considerable loss, and the Imperial commander was glad to propose an armistice, which was soon afterwards concluded at Treviso, on conditions that added materially to the previous humiliations of the Empire.

While these events had rapidy followed each other, the Emperor Paul of Russia, who had for some time abandoned the alliance with England, was bidding for the favour of the First Consul, by attacks on the rights of Englishmen within his dominions. As a recompense for his complaisance, General Bonaparte formally ceded to Russia the Island of Malta, which he knew to be in the possession of England, or on the eve of surrendering to her arms.* The Emperor received the intelligence of this acquisition with extravagant demonstrations of gratification. Almost simultaneously with a knowledge of the gift, Paul was informed of its change of masters. He immediately put in his claim, and threw himself into a tremendous rage because the English government refused to entertain it. He not only laid an embargo on all the British shipping within his ports, but entered into a league with Sweden and Denmark, on the 26th of

* The details of this clever manœuvre are related at length in the 6th book of *Thiers'* "*Consulate.*" See also Mr T. Grenville's letter, of Dec. 8th.

December, similar to that of 1780, to defend the rights of neutrals according to their own interpretation of them. Prussia two days afterwards joined the confederacy.

Thus in every quarter of the continent, England, at the close of the year, appeared to be left without allies. So isolated a position was unquestionably full of peril; for not only was she without the slightest hope of assistance, in case of attack from that favourite of fortune whose genius had in so brief an interval divested her of friends; but some of the most powerful amongst them, had, through the influence of the same master-mind, been embittered and incensed against her to such a degree, that they appeared impatient of the opportunity to declare themselves foes.

This critical position, it should be borne in mind, England had been placed in solely by her support of the interests of the continental powers, which interests they had in a few short months abandoned with more or less folly, weakness, and treachery. The able statesmen, who in England were watching the course of events, and communicating the impressions of it, that are now before the public, may be thought to have been to some extent answerable for this peril, having directed or advocated the policy by which it was produced; but before any judgment can be formed of their culpability, the course of events must be followed by the reader, to observe how the crisis was met, and whether there was not something in such isolation that might be turned into a source of strength to this country, superior to any combination into which it had hitherto been drawn.

1801.

NEGOTIATIONS AT LUNEVILLE—RESIGNATION OF LORD GRENVILLE AND MR. PITT—THE ADDINGTON ADMINISTRATION—NELSON IN THE BALTIC—MR. THOMAS GRENVILLE DECLINES THE POST OF AMBASSADOR TO THE COURT OF RUSSIA—SUCCESSES OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN EGYPT—PEACE OF AMIENS.

At Lunéville there remained, during the conflict that had been going on on the banks of the Rhine and the Mincio, two men who must have regarded it with interest not less profound than that which was felt, or at least may be supposed to have been felt, by the parties more immediately concerned in its issue. These men were Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of the First Consul of the French Republic, and Count Cobentzel, an old diplomatist in the service of the Emperor of Austria. The breaking out of hostilities had stopped the conference in which both had been engaged, and now their sole employment was watching the prodigious game that was being played on the double chess-board of Germany and Italy. It was easy even for the Austrian to see that his master was overmatched. The dashing gambit which his opponent directed, was neither evaded with caution nor defended

with skill. Immediate confusion, increased by continued checks, now placed the Imperial game in an awkward position, which no sacrifice could improve, no combination remedy. Joseph Bonaparte, following his instructions, pointed out to his fellow negotiator the weakness of his master, and insisted on the inevitable mate. Cobentzel as confidently predicted a brilliant move that was completely to alter the character of the contest. In vain the French plenipotentiary drew his companion's attention to the advantages the First Consul had secured, as he made himself master of his antagonist's most important pieces; the sanguine Austrian would only see in their surrender, the intention of obtaining a position for a successful attack. Joseph Bonaparte could not avoid feeling a sentiment of respect for a patriotism that would not despair, and did not press the Count as closely as his brother directed; but the hopelessness of the game became too conspicuous. Vainly did the anxious diplomatist strive to point out some evidence of a resource; accumulating disasters were forced upon his notice; he urged the inspiration of despair, but the advantages of the better player were finally put forward with such determination, that poor Cobentzel at last found himself obliged to award a heavy stake, as well as to acknowledge a complete defeat. The impression such a course of bad news produced on the English government, may be gathered from the following note. We recognize in its account of the northern coalition—as the coming event that cast its shadow before—the spirited demonstration in the Baltic, that blew the whole confederacy to the winds.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 13, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I ran a race with the postman's bell, to tell you an interesting event, which I believe you must not talk of till it is known. We have this moment heard from the continent that the Northern Convention was signed by Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, on the 16th December, and was acceded to by Prussia a few days after. The Danes, to whom we had put a categorical question as to the fact, have avowed it in the answer which is just arrived. Convinced, as I long have been, that this contest was threatened to us, I rejoice that we find such good British spirit in the country, upon this great and important subject. No negotiation could have ensured us against it; it is a matter upon which Sir H. Parker and Lord Nelson will be our best plenipotentiaries, as soon as the Baltic will thaw enough to receive them and their *retinues*. Our government feel as they ought, and I have no doubt will act vigorously and successfully. Meantime, the enemy does not sleep, for accounts are just arrived from Pellew, that a French squadron—of what number I know not—endeavoured to sail, but upon perceiving him, retreated into Cameretta Bay before he could get between them and the shore. Besides this, all the last accounts from Brest are full of demonstrations of speedy sailing. I am persuaded that they are now enough convinced of Popham's destination being for Egypt, to try to slip out a squadron of fast frigates after him. They have twice asserted at Paris that six frigates have got out, but we know that not one as yet has slipped by.

God bless you, my dearest brother,

T. G.

P. S.—The Emperor has written to the King a very proper letter, to state the necessity of his treating separately; and I am

glad to find that Ministers speak of this transaction without any ill-humour towards the wretched Austrians, who have fought bravely, though without either skill or system in those who commanded.

Among the small failings of the Marquis of Buckingham, was an intense sensitiveness regarding the maintenance of his own dignity—by no means an uncommon characteristic with men of high intelligence and warm feeling. As lord-lieutenant of his county and colonel of its militia, he considered that he possessed an authority, which the general of the district had endeavoured to set aside, in certain military arrangements that had lately been published. As will be seen from the commmunications of his brother on the subject, the good sense of which cannot fail of immediate recognition, the Marquis had drawn too hasty an inference from those arrangements.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 27, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I am sorry that you have been vexed by the manner in which the interior military arrangements have been announced to you; undoubtedly your situation well entitled you to every attention which could be shewn you, but, as we all know, it is not by the courtesies of office that our government very much distinguishes themselves. To the measure itself, I presume that you do not feel any solid objection, if more consideration had been shown in the execution of it. It was a general measure, adopted under circumstances of real alarm, which seemed to make such preparations desirable; and although, as well in prudence as in courtesy, a great deal of management should have been used in

all these arrangements, I really believe that it was wise to be prepared with them, and even to apply them with caution and temper. Dundas's letter, however, shews you plainly that it was a part of a general plan; and, therefore, as it had not any special reference to you, I trust that you will not feel it necessary to take any special or particular shape in it, although there was much of carelessness and inattention in the first communication made to you.

I have been conversing a good deal with our friends at the Admiralty upon the sort of project which you had mentioned, of a detachment of thirty, and a subaltern, from such militia regiments as would volunteer to do the duty of marines. It seems to them very desirable, provided the subaltern be so young in the service, as not to interfere with any of the marine subaltern officers in rank; the exact succession in that corps being at present the great principle of it. With respect to providing that these thirty marines shall not go out of Europe, there would be no difficulty or inconvenience in that provision. I hope, however, that we may talk together of these matters next week. All necessary measures are taken for acting in the Baltic on the very first day on which our fleet can sail into it. My Prussian speculations are, that they will endeavour to find and keep a distinct situation for themselves, such as need not embroil them in a war with us, nor with France and Russia. The great Consul will try to frighten them into war with us, by the terror of war with them, and that is our only danger, which is not trifling, as the closing up the Elbe would shake the nerves of the trade of this country. How strange the 'Petersburgh Gazette!'

God bless you, dearest brother,

T. G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 28.

MY DEAR BROTHER,

Our wise men are all in a quandary here, because, though they want to call out a part of the supplemental militia, the words of the act seem to require all or none. Recruits come in pretty fast, and a new project is on foot of arming hoys and small vessels with carronades, which seem to me very feasible, and very serviceable: It had been thought that a thirty-two pounder could not be fired on board a light vessel without damaging it, but it has been tried on the deck of a common hoy under forty tons, and fired all day without in the least shaking or distressing any part of the thinnest planks.

The accounts from France, do not in general look like immediate attack; but at Havre they are the most busy and the most forward. The 'Melampus' has taken another eighteen gun corvette, armed as a privateer, like the last. The national officers originally belonging to it, had a *congé* for three months from the 1st of January. They are certainly endeavouring to attack our trade, and that of all Europe, in good earnest; not by their great fleets, but by a deluge of privateers.

This morning has brought accounts to the Admiralty of the capture of eight in different parts. Nothing new in the accounts from Lord St. Vincent, except a strong apprehension of his that peace is making at the expense of his station at Lisbon. Letters came to-day from Harvey, dated 17th December, at Barbadoes, by a running merchantman to Liverpool, but not a syllable on the subject of Lord Camelford.* Perhaps those accounts were lost in the 'Tortola' packet.

The subscription goes on but slowly. Lord Camden's friends

* Thomas, second baron. Subsequently shot in a duel with Mr. Best. His estates devolved to his sister Anne, Lady Grenville.

have written to him, to press him to a contribution from the Tellership.*

God bless you, dearest brother,

T. G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 28, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

You will already have seen by my letter of yesterday, what was my honest opinion of the arrangement which you have seen in so unpleasant a light. That it was a part of a very general plan which was adopted under great pressure, I very well know, and therefore was fully satsfied that there could not be the slightest disregard to you in the measure itself, though I could easily believe in the communication of it to you there had been much less attention than you were fairly entitled to; but now that the Duke of Portland has written a letter to you which so fully, in your own view, satisfies all claims of regard and attention, I own myself much disappointed in seeing that you continue to feel so strongly about it. In truth, not to comprehend Buckinghamshire in this plan of district, is surely an exception greater than can be demanded when so general a plan is adopted; and I am at the same time well persuaded that if you merely comply with the letter of that general law, you will have it most fully in your power to execute it in whatever shape, or rather in as small a shape as you can wish, it being impossible that General Grinfield at Litchfield, can have more than a nominal command at Buckingham and Aylesbury, and I have no doubt but that the course of the authority of the Lord-Lieutenant, will continue to be as fully in your hands now as it has ever been.

* The Tellership of the Exchequer, which was held conjointly by Lord Camden and the Marquis of Buckingham.

Such is, fairly speaking, my poor opinion on this matter, and I am well convinced that if you let the thing go by, you will hear no more of it, and that it will not be considered in your particular and separate instance, as justifying your taking a step which no other Lord-Lieutenant has hitherto taken. But although this is my opinion, I trust you will believe that I will most scrupulously say for you whatever you wish me to say to the Duke of Portland, if you wish rather to send him a verbal than a written answer. And yet I am persuaded that if you think this over at leisure, or wait till we can talk it over, you will easily feel that, whatever be Grinfield's authority at Litchfield, yours will be the real authority in the county of Bucks.

I am this moment told that a mail is arrived, by which we have now an explanation of that strange article and comment in the 'Petersburgh Gazette.' Paul, it seems, had intercepted a letter of the Danish minister at Petersburgh, containing that article and comment; he immediately sent for the Dane, and ordered him instantly to quit Russia, telling him, he so much despised the malice of the paragraph and comment, that he would himself insert them in the 'Court Gazette.' I am not sure this is good news; I had rather that the three confederates hung together till they are beat. The King's speech is to-morrow.

God bless you, dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Thursday, Jan. 29, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

You will easily have seen in my letter of yesterday, how strongly I was impressed with the hope and belief that the Duke of P's letter having done away all idea of disrespect to you, would have satisfied you entirely upon a matter which is of too general a description to seem to justify any special

exception in your instance. Under this impression, I trust you will forgive me for waiting till I hear from you, and as I hope till I see you, before I deliver your letter to the Duke. That letter is civil in its terms, and not too harsh, if you still think that you must write. I am confident that the best shape would be to let the thing go by as I mentioned in my last; but if you retain your opinion, I think you will agree with me in seeing that my conversation with the Duke of Portland, whom I do not see five times in the year, cannot assist the discussion, which is very amply and civilly entered upon in your letter. Pray, therefore, let me hear from you that you do not wish me to send the letter, or to give it before we talk it over; as this will only be a delay of three days, that cannot be material. If you wish me to say anything to the Duke I will do so, but you must tell me what to say, as I am always jealous of myself when I speak for another. The King's speech is put off till Monday.

God bless you, dearest brother.

P.S. The districts being now made, surely it will be possible to except from that general distribution, only the three hundreds of Buckinghamshire.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 31, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

Your letter conveyed to me so decided a wish on your part to pursue your original intention, that I no longer hesitated as to the communicating your letter to the Duke of Portland; and observing that you seem to wish likewise that I should see him, I called at Burlington House with your letter in my pocket, and finding that the Duke is still in the country, I have appointed to see him at eleven to-morrow, if he returns. I will not any more argue with you upon a question with which you seem to be so strongly impressed; and I can only say, that I heartily wish

that your statement may produce such a result as you wish. You will, however, acknowledge that it is difficult to speak of your determination to resign, without giving to that intimation all the appearance and effect of a menace; and farther, you must hear me remark, that it is a mistake to imagine that the four hundreds of Bucks not in General Grinfield's district, are not either in any other. The whole county, as I am informed, has for a long time been in the London district, as it is called, under Lord Harrington; and, therefore, this regulation in effect only takes three hundreds out of one military district, to put them into another, on account of their near neighbourhood to disturbed counties.

Having made these two observations to you, I can assure you that I am not on that account less solicitous that the issue of the matter should be agreeable to you; nor would I spare any pains of mine that could contribute to make it so; but I do not know how to believe that my awkward conversation with the Duke can do other than to embarrass him and me on a subject on which we, by common agreement, have never conversed. But I will go and do all I can to-morrow.

God bless you, dearest brother,

T. G.

P.S.—There is no news, except that by the French papers of the 28th. There is an Italian armistice, which places the Austrians behind the Tagliamento, and therefore gives to the French the possession of all the Venetian territory.

By the treaty of Lunéville, signed on the 9th of February, the middle of the Rhine, from the Helvetic to the Batavian territory was pronounced the boundary between France and Germany; the Adige that of Austrian Italy. The Emperor was forced to cede Tuscany; in short, the French became masters of all central Italy, and

had the power of excluding the English from Leghorn. But exclusion from an Italian port was a very small item in the hostile intentions of the First Consul towards England.* He had organised a confederacy of the north and south of Europe against that stubborn insular government, that when the most powerful sovereigns of the continent and peninsula were cringing for his smile, still continued to defy his menaces, blockade his ports, and attack his shipping, whenever any portion of it ventured from the protection of the long extent of coast that acknowledged his supremacy.

The most distinguished of those able men who had hitherto guided the vessel of the state through the storm that had proved so disastrous to similar craft, were now, unfortunately about to surrender their onerous charge. Not unfortunately for themselves, for had it been possible to exceed the credit they had gained by their bold and skilful service, a liberal increase must be awarded for their abandonment of all the honours and rewards it promised, influenced solely by a principle as exalted as ever induced great minds to submit to great sacrifices. The explanation given by Lord Grenville, of the position in which himself and his illustrious colleague, the Chancellor of the Exchequer were placed, is so full, that illustration is

* As early as January, 1800, Bonaparte had expressed his intention of annihilating England. The fallacious character of his proposals for peace in that year he subsequently avowed to Montholon. He also confessed to more than one of his intimates, the designs imputed to him by Lord Grenville, arising out of the necessity under which he laboured, to maintain his power in France by a succession of triumphs over rival nations.—*Alison's "History of Europe,"* Vol. IV., p. 345.

unnecessary; we cannot, however, refrain from calling attention to the honourable unanimity of the brothers on this occasion, nor resist suggesting a comparison between their ready abandonment of the honours and emoluments of office when unable to carry out a wise and generous policy, with the more frequent instances that have occurred before and since, of an equally ready abandonment of any and every kind of policy at the first temptation of office.

There is a remarkable passage in the Diary of Wilberforce, which explains the step which the ministry found it necessary to take. At a levée the King is reported to have asked of Mr. Dundas: "What is this that this young lord has brought over from Ireland, and is going to throw at my head." His Majesty referred to Viscount Castlereagh, and a proposed measure of Catholic Emancipation, intended by the best friends of Ireland to consummate the beneficial intention of the Union. When this was explained, the King exclaimed, "I shall reckon any man my personal enemy, who proposes any such a measure. This is the worst Jacobinical thing that I ever heard of." "Your Majesty will find," replied his minister, "among those who are friendly to this measure, some you never supposed to be your enemies."

It is not quite clear that this dialogue was spoken as it is reported, but it is probable that some observation may have dropped from the King, expressive of his Majesty's determination to oppose the contemplated measure. This being communicated to the Grenvilles and their distinguished colleague, produced the celebrated

letter of Mr. Pitt to the King, in which after stating that the Union had obtained the concurrence of the Irish people, chiefly in consequence of a distinct hope being held out to that portion of the population which had long laboured under grievous disabilities in consequence of professing a different religion to the State, he begged permission to resign his office, if prevented realizing the hopes he had suffered them to entertain. He added, that if his services were considered essential to his Majesty at this important crisis, he was ready to defer the consideration of the proposed measure, though he could not be induced to abandon it.

The King replied not only to Mr. Pitt, but opened a correspondence with Lord Kenyon, in which he put forward his interpretation of the coronation oath, as an insurmountable bar to Catholic concession. The Chancellor of the Exchequer at once gave in his resignation, and Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, with the same manly spirit that pervades his private letters, explained the cause of his retiring with his colleagues.

"Though we have retired from office," said his Lordship, "no change of measures will take place; but the system which has already proved so salutary, will continue to be acted upon by our successors. Though we may differ from them in some points, in most there is no difference between us; *and while they continue to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner, they shall have our steady support.*"

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Feb. 2, 1801.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

You will see the papers to-day full of reports, and contradictions of reports, respecting the scene that is passing here. I owe it to you not to delay putting you in possession of the fact exactly as it stands; but you will easily see, when you know the circumstances, how much my personal honour is engaged, in not suffering the least particle of it to be known by any act either of mine, or those who are near and dear to me, however nearly some of the reports in circulation have approached to the truth.

You know, I believe, that it was always my opinion—and I think it is yours—that the Union with Ireland would be a measure extremely incomplete and defective as to some of the most material benefits to be expected from it, unless immediate advantage were taken of it to attach the great body of the Irish Catholics to the measure itself, and to the government as administered under the control of the United Parliament. We have often talked over some of the measures to be taken with that view. The removal of the remaining disqualifications from parliament, and from office, seemed to me to be one indispensable feature of such a system. Not so much from any positive and immediate effect which that removal would produce—for the number of Catholics whom it would introduce into parliament, or into office, must at first be very small—but because it was the best pledge that the United Parliament could give of its general good disposition towards the Catholic body, and because it was naturally regarded by the clergy, as a preliminary to their acceptance of the sort of provision which we wished to make for them, in order to render them more respectable in station, more independent of their flocks, and better disposed to the support of the established government. For if they alone had accepted this

favour, leaving to the body of the laity the feeling of having been sacrificed by their clergy, for the sake of temporal emolument, it is easy to see they must lose all influence over their people.

The wisdom and necessity of these measures appeared to me to be placed in a still stronger view, when considered with reference to the present state of Europe, and to the great probability of an attempt at invasion of Ireland in the course of the year. This seemed to me a moment, if ever there was one, in which an effort ought to be made to conciliate the affections of the mass of that people.

Looking at the subject in this view, Mr. Pitt and myself had formed a plan of an extensive arrangement of this whole subject, in which we included this measure of substituting in lieu of the sacramental test, now notoriously evaded and insufficient for any effectual purpose, a political test, to be imposed indiscriminately on all persons sitting in parliament, or holding state or corporation offices, and also on all ministers of religion, of whatever description, and all teachers of schools, &c. This test was to be directly levelled against the Jacobin principles; was to disclaim in express terms the sovereignty of the people; and was to contain an oath of allegiance and fidelity to the King's government of the realm, and to the established constitution both in church and state. All this was to have been accompanied with measures—the outlines of which I had before communicated to you—for strengthening the powers, and enforcing the discipline of our church establishment over its own ministers; and for augmenting the income of those whose poverty now forms an insuperable bar to their residence.

And a provision was also to be made in respect of tithes, which would, I think, materially operate in this country, and still more materially in Ireland, to remove the objections to that mode of provision for the clergy.

This plan having been stated to the Cabinet, was approved of by the majority of the King's servants. But it had, unfortunately,

insurmountable difficulties to encounter in the King's own mind. His Majesty has persuaded himself, or has been persuaded by others, that the removal of the disqualifications now operating against the Catholics in this country, and in Ireland, tends to the subversion of the church establishment, and is consequently a breach of his coronation oath.

This unhappy difference of opinion is at length brought to a point which admits of no compromise. We cannot blame his Majesty, or complain of his conduct towards us, when he resists decidedly a measure, which in his conscientious opinion involves a breach of his engagements with his people, and a violation of so solemn an oath. He cannot blame or complain of us, when we declare our inability to resist in parliament a measure which we think not only expedient but necessary; and which even if we could forbear to agitate it, must inevitably be brought forward by Opposition, under circumstances which will leave us no choice as to the declaration of our opinions. This, therefore, we have been under the necessity of respectfully submitting to his Majesty, and Pitt has accordingly written to him to say, that under these circumstances, unless the King's opposition to the measure can be removed, or so far softened as to admit of its being brought forward with the full weight of government, there can remain nothing to be done, but for his Majesty to form such an arrangement (to the exclusion of those who concur in thinking this measure necessary,) as may best conduct his affairs in this arduous crisis, with the assistance of such support as our duty and our affection will equally call upon us to afford to the general system of his government. It was added, that in such interval as the formation of such an arrangement must require, we should continue our best services, and should endeavour to prevent, as far as in us lies, the discussion and decision of this particular question—provided it was understood that measures were in train for relieving us from situations, which we can no longer fill with any public advantage.

It is much to be regretted, that the warmth with which the King feels and expresses himself on this subject, should already have rendered the matter so public. His Majesty has not yet returned his answer to Mr. Pitt's letter, but we know that it is his intention to abide by his determination; and I have some reason to believe that he is actually engaged in the formation of the new government; but of what materials it will be composed, I am totally ignorant, except that I am confident he is as much resolved not to compromise with the Opposition, as he is not to accede to our opinions.

There could be no doubt of the line we were to follow in this unpleasant and unhappy state of things. I could heartily wish that the necessity of the thing itself had not brought the point to issue precisely at the present moment. My sense of the public difficulties is certainly much less than that which the public itself entertains; but still there is difficulty enough to make one wish not to quit one's post; but there seems to be no alternative, and so I flatter myself you will think.

It seems still very uncertain how long the interval may be. My wish, and I think the King's interest, is that it should be short. I trust not many weeks.

Adieu, my dear brother. We shall talk all these matters over more fully than I can write them.

An elaborate explanation of this remarkable ministerial movement will be found in a modern publication,* to which we are obliged to refer, some of the statements in it being at variance with a considerable portion of this correspondence, and with established facts.

It would not be difficult to prove that "great

* "Life of Lord Sidmouth." By the Hon. George Pellew, D.D. Dean of Norwich. 1847. Vol. I., p. 280.

Chatham's son," so far from being the easy dupe of his last visitor, as the Dean of Norwich takes infinite pains to demonstrate, was profoundly sagacious in his objects, singularly reserved in the development of his policy, and intensely diplomatic in the employment of his instruments. The Dean insists upon the immense inferiority of the mind that influenced Mr. Pitt—thus striving to humiliate two of the most distinguished public men of their time; but there was no impulse so strong in Mr. Pitt's nature, as the determination to lead, and this rendered it much more likely that he should bring his visitor to adopt his opinion, than that he should accept what might be submitted to him.

It is quite true that this enlightened statesman entertained a very high opinion of Lord Grenville; and surely not without a sound foundation. Possibly Lord Grenville's comprehensive information and straightforward intelligence, may have given him an advantage over the Minister's confidential friends; but that he suffered his better judgment to be led astray by the confidence of inferior minds,* as one of his biographers has asserted, and the Dean of Norwich adopted† upon evidence certainly not worth quoting, scarcely deserves a moment's consideration. In more than one instance, he is known to have exhibited a provoking indifference to arguments considered to be unanswerable; in others, accepted only as much of them as suited his own policy. There are even not wanting occasions when he made use of the counsel in a manner totally opposed to

* Gifford's "Life of Pitt," Vol. VI., p. 559.

† Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. I., p. 328.

the counsellor's notions of utility, and he is also known to have given his strenuous opposition to both. This correspondence will afford examples of each of these moods; but of the weakness which has been gratuitously laid to his charge, at the expense of a cotemporary whose distinguished talents for government were rendered more brilliant by his elevated character, no evidence has been found here—nor anywhere else.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Feb. 2, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I have seen the Duke of Portland, and have conversed with him upon the subject which you wished me to name to him. I found in him from the first so strong a disposition to do whatever he can to relieve your difficulties, that I did not think it necessary to say a word of your letter of representation, and have accordingly returned it to you. In the first place, I can assure you very positively that, as long ago as in 1793, all the counties of England were put into military districts, and that four hundreds of Bucks and part of Oxfordshire were in one district, and the other hundreds with the other parts of Oxfordshire, in another; and similar divisions have been made in various other counties. All that was now done with respect to General Grinfield was to unite together two of these districts, and put both of them under his command, instead of their continuing under separate commands of general officers. With respect to your having had no letter from Lord Harrington, it is only because he was less alert in executing his orders in 1793 than General Grinfield in 1801. All this detail of the military districts for so long back as seven years continually, will appear to you in the description of them, which Mr. Frankland has promised to get. The Duke, therefore,

not officially, but privately, told me that the chief object from the first was to establish a communication on the part of the counties in each district with the general officer commanding them, which communication was thought likely to be useful and convenient to the lord-lieutenant, and that he should not desire of you to make any communication to General Grinfield, unless you thought it useful to do so; and upon my pressing him to say this to you in a *private* letter, he promised to do so in the course of to-morrow, so that I trust all this matter will now be settled to your mind.

My brother William has made to me the same communication which, by the post of to-day he means to make to you; and as he has shewn me the letter which is actually written to you, I must refer you to that as containing all the information I have respecting it.

My own opinion, as far as I understand the measure which was in agitation, perfectly coincides with what I know to be William's opinion, and strongly believe to be yours. With that view of the subject, it appears to me that, as honest men, they could take no other step than that which they have taken; although I am well aware of all the public difficulties and dangers which will arise from such an event as a change of government in such a moment as the present. I have not the smallest guess how it will be possible for the King to make out even the frame of a government to supply that which he thinks himself obliged to change, as I do not know that any one efficient man can be found in the House of Commons of calibre enough to represent the government in it; and though the House of Lords is not quite under the same difficulty, they will lose the assistance both of the foreign and naval ministers there; nor do I know any of the Cabinet whom I think likely to remain in office, except the Chancellor and Lord Westmoreland; for, although the public adds the Duke of Portland to these two, I do not know that to be the case, and have had no conversation with him upon the

subject. Dundas and Wyndham are strongly of opinion with Pitt and my brother. I fear this is a melancholy picture for the public, but I protest, as an honest man, I do not think it possible for our friends to have taken any other line than what they have.

There is a report of Lord Fitzwilliam moving some amendment to-day; how true it is I know not; but I take for granted that Ministers in the present moment will not say one word upon that question; and, indeed, my brother very properly feels that they cannot do so in justice to the King, until his decision be announced to Pitt upon the matter.

God bless you, dearest brother. I presume this strange event may hasten your journey to town, where we can so much more satisfactorily talk of these points than we can write upon them.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Feb. 4, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I was with William this morning when he received your letter, and you will easily imagine how highly he was gratified in finding that his conduct and opinions were so much approved of by you. In truth, the natural anxiety of his situation had been very much increased by the solicitude which he felt for your approbation of the measure in which he is engaged.

There is not the least reason to believe that the King can or will give way, as his scruples arise from a very conscientious sense of his religious obligations, which he thinks do not allow him to entertain the discussion of the subject. I therefore think that it is probable that a very few days may produce the actual resignation of the persons whom I named to you. I think the consequences are of incalculable danger and mischief, but with their opinions, and situated as they have at last found them-

selves, I do not know that any sense of this danger and mischief could justify them in any other step than that of resigning. I shall be most happy indeed to see you, and to talk this over with you.

I know too much the value of our being so cordially one in three, not to rejoice from the bottom of my heart in it, and to feel confident that it will last to the end of our lives, and gild the closing period of our days.

God bless you, my ever-dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Cleveland Row, Feb. 4, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

Although we shall meet so soon, I cannot help expressing to you the heartfelt pleasure which I have derived in this anxious moment, from the knowledge that you approve the line we have taken, and feel the necessity of this painful step.

You may be assured that the resolution is finally taken; and I verily believe, so strong are the prejudices on the subject, that no necessity, to whatever extent it may exist, could induce him to depart from it. I trust he will be able to form a government that may, with our support, weather this storm, and certainly my best endeavours shall be used, as they ought to be, for its support.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

Mr. Addington during his career as Speaker of the House of Commons, had enjoyed numerous opportunities of communicating with the King, on whom his evident devotion to the royal will had made a most favourable impression. When the unbending quality of the adminis-

tration began to display itself, the King took frequent counsel of the Speaker, with whom he carried on a confidential correspondence, unknown to his Ministers. His Majesty's principal subject was the proposal to remove the Catholic disabilities, which he denounced in plain and somewhat strong language, as "abhorrent," and a proposition "not less big with danger than absurdity;"* and finding that his sentiments did not influence the government, the King requested the Speaker to become his minister. At first Mr. Addington appears to have been reluctant to take upon himself so vast a responsibility as must fall to the successor of Mr. Pitt; but the urgent entreaties of his sovereign were not long in influencing his decision. By a letter from the King, dated Feb. 1st,† we find that the King's reply to Mr. Pitt's communication of the preceding day, was written with the assistance of Mr. Addington; who, it is equally clear, prompted the final answer of the King to his Minister on the 5th of the same month. The Speaker then was master of the situation, and acted on the royal commands to form another administration; and the leading members of the departing ministry communicated with the King, on surrendering their several offices. His Majesty went to Windsor, whence he wrote to the Speaker on the 7th, acknowledging the receipt of a letter from Lord Grenville, adding, "Lord Grenville's is so very handsome, that I instantly answered it."‡ This acknow-

* Letters dated Jan. 29th and 31st.—Dr. Pellew's "Life of Lord Sidmouth," Vol. I., pp. 285, 287.

† Ibid, Vol. I., p. 288.

‡ Ibid, Vol. I., p. 298.

ledgment from such a source, ought to have preserved his lordship from some of the Dean's open strictures, and covert accusations. Lord Grenville's very handsome conduct, however, did not end here. To the King, who had preferred abandoning a sagacious counsellor, to surrendering an opinion, he gave a most loyal support; to the favourite who had succeeded in getting into power behind his back, and at the expense of men infinitely his superiors in talent, he proffered a generous and friendly assistance.

Sir Archibald Alison gives the Addington administration a character it little deserved. "Mr. Pitt," he says, "retired, but left his mantle to his successors. Neither timidity nor vacillation appeared in the measures of government towards foreign states."* It would have been nearer the truth to have stated of Mr. Pitt that he lent rather than left, a great deal more than his mantle to his successors; and it would have been fairer to have explained that neither timidity nor vacillation appeared in the policy of the latter towards other governments, as long as they followed out the designs which they found in the Foreign Office prepared for immediate use. When these were exhausted, and Addington's patron claimed his wardrobe, his timidity and vacillation towards foreign states became notorious.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Cleveland Row, Feb. 20, 1801.

My Dearest Brother,

I know too well your affection to Lady Grenville, not to be sure that you will feel a satisfaction in my having this day, when

* History of Europe, Vol. IV., p. 109

I resigned the seals, asked and obtained from the King, an eventual provision for her to take effect at my death. I owed this to her, but I could not take this step without Pitt's concurrence, and it was only this day that I received his answer upon it. The amount is not settled, but I suppose it will be £1000 or £1200 per annum. No just and reasonable man can object to this in the case of a Secretary of State, who has served twelve years, which would be granted in so many other cases of subordinate situation. And as for a little clamour of those who have no better ground of attack against me, it would be very hard, if having so long despised it for myself, I was unwilling to encounter it for her.

The King granted it in the handsomest manner, and with an expression of peculiar kindness, told me that he considered my asking it at this time as a personal obligation conferred upon himself.

Yours most affectionately,

G.

The description given by M. Thiers, of the causes of the change which now took place in the British government, is not the least imaginative chapter in that laboured historical romance he has called a History of the Consulate and the Empire. He is so good as to state, that he obtained his information from contemporaries, and intimate friends of Mr. Pitt, who held the highest offices in the state, at the time of the publication of his work, and were engaged in forwarding important negotiations nearly half a century before. As he conceals their names, it is impossible for the historical scholar to identify them. All that need be said here is, that we have been unable to find any trace of such

negotiators attached to Mr. Pitt's administration, and have failed to discover any one recently holding the highest offices in England, who could have been on intimate terms with Mr. Pitt in 1801. If the late Lord Holland, or the present Marquis of Lansdowne, is here referred to by M. Thiers, he has misunderstood their statements, as well as their positions.

A question has more than once been put forward, as to the genuineness of this transaction; indeed, it has been confidently asserted, that Mr. Pitt's retirement was a sham, and that Mr. Addington was at best a political warming-pan, employed only to keep his friend's and patron's place well aired till his return. There are certainly some features in the case which favour the presumption that Mr. Pitt did not cease to direct the government, though he had ceased to be the responsible minister. Lord Chatham, Mr. Pitt's elder brother, became a member of the new administration in the post of President of the Council, which was afterwards changed for that of Master General of the Ordnance. The King, too; is reported to have said at the first *levée* after the change of government, drawing the ex- and present ministers into a recess. "If we three do but keep together, all will be well."* Mr. Pitt urged Mr. Addington to take his place, and suggested some, if not all of the new appointments.† Nevertheless, these facts may be reconciled with the position assumed by the retiring minister, of a friendly adviser to the new govern-

* Life of Lord Sidmouth," Vol. I. p. 331.

† Ibid.

ment—in which the King no doubt was anxious to retain him.

On the other side of the question, we find among much evidence of the same kind, the following statement: "February 27th. The Prince of Wales sent for Addington; asked him, "if he was minister?" "*No, Sir!*" *replied he,* "*not I, but Mr. Pitt.*" "In that case pray send Mr. Pitt to me." Addington, I am told hesitated, and said most awkwardly, that he would consult the Duke of York. "No advice can be wanted on such occasions, Mr. Addington," said the Prince, "and if you decline acceding to my *request,* be so good as to obey my *commands.*"* Another extract from another diary,† has been quoted to prove that the preceding is untrue; but as its statements are "on the authority of Mr. Addington himself," they do not form such "conclusive refutation" as Lord Sidmouth's biographer, and son-in-law, pronounces them to be. The Dean is good enough to add immediately afterwards, that he has in vain made a diligent search, throughout the Sidmouth papers, for any confirmation of the numerous charges against the new minister to be found in Lord Malmesbury's publication, and he solemnly assures his readers that "*in truth, none such exist.*" We implicitly believe him, as far as regards the Sidmouth Papers that came into his hands, but there is a fact of grave significance, which he has elsewhere mentioned, that ought

* Diary of Lord Malmesbury, published in his "Memoirs."

‡ Mr. Abbot (Lord Colchester).—Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. I, p. 343.

to be considered in conjunction with his solemn assurance—*the prior destruction of a very considerable, and no doubt important portion of these papers, by Lord Sidmouth.*

His lordship has left evidence, that on one occasion he destroyed as much as one hundred quires of MSS., which were suggestive of "many interesting circumstances," and on another, "an immense mass of Pitt's letters shared the same fate." The destroyer "most scrupulously committing to the flames every letter, however interesting, that my conscience told me Pitt would have forbidden to be published had he been living."* The date of this correspondence, happens to be that of the Addington administration.

It seems strange that out of this *immense mass* of letters, not a fragment has been preserved which could be brought forward to prove that Mr. Pitt's resignation, and Mr. Addington's appointment did not form the kind of convenient arrangement it has sometimes been pronounced; it is equally strange that the *immense mass* of Mr. Pitt's communications with Mr. Addington, should have been consigned to the flames, when every other correspondent of that illustrious man, has preserved them with the greatest possible care and veneration. Was every sentence Mr. Pitt wrote to Mr. Addington so little to his credit, that the latter several years after Mr. Pitt's decease, found himself conscientiously forced to condemn them to a relentless *auto-da-fé?* We are not satisfied of the necessity of such wholesale destruction of documents

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. I., p. 461.

that were not only "interesting," but must have been extremely valuable, unless they contained evidence, which it had become the interest of Mr. Pitt's correspondent to destroy.

If, however, the inference to be drawn from such an act, is that Mr. Pitt was not sincere in the part he was acting towards his colleagues in the retiring administration, such insincerity cannot be brought to the charge of the Grenvilles. Unquestionably they were in earnest as regards the Catholic claims, and loyal in their conduct towards their chief. With regard to the King's intense anti-Catholic feelings, as his abhorrence to any consideration of the claims of his Roman Catholic subjects, must appear to some persons, it is but justice to remind the reader that it was shared by a large majority of the Protestant people of England; and the obligations of the coronation oath, on one so deeply impressed with a sense of his duty as conservator of the Established Church, naturally took the form which led to his parting with his wisest counsellors.

His Majesty is reported by General Garth to have stated, "I had rather beg my bread from door to door throughout Europe, than consent to any such measure"* as that his ministers had proposed to him for removing the disabilities of the Catholics; and when on the King referring to his coronation oath, Mr. Dundas drew a distinction between the King in his legislative and in his executive capacity, averring that it bound him only in the latter, he is stated to have sharply replied, "none of your Scotch metaphysics,

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. I., p. 286.

Mr. Dundas."* Such anecdotes indicate his Majesty's peculiar idiosyncracy, and perhaps the presence of an unhealthy mental excitement that made him regard this possible advancement of the religion of Rome in his dominions, as a danger to be averted at any cost. Other persons, holding different opinions, saw only an opportunity of bringing an important section of the population of the kingdom into political harmony with the rest.

The mental agitation created by this extraordinary change of government, had so serious an effect upon the King's health, that it occasioned a recurrence of his malady. This continued more than a week, with equal alarm to the administrations coming in and going out of office. Fox was summoned to London, and all the leading members of Opposition were in continual conclave; speculating, anticipating, and arranging in accordance with their individual inclinations. The brilliant prospect, however, faded as rapidly as it rose. On the 18th of March the physicians pronounced the King convalescent, and the names of the new ministry appeared in the public journals. *Mr. Addington*, First Lord of the Treasury and Chancellor of the Exchequer; *Duke of Portland*, Home Secretary; *Lord Hawkesbury*†, Foreign Secretary; *Lord Hobart*,‡ Colonial Secretary; *Sir Charles Yorke*,‖ Secretary

* Life of Sir James Mackintosh, Vol. I. p 170.

† Charles Jenkinson, first Earl of Liverpool. He died 17th Dec. 1808.

‡ Robert, eldest son of George, third Earl of Buckinghamshire, to whose title he succeeded 14th Nov. 1804. He died 4th Dec. 1816.

‖ Second son of Charles, Lord Chancellor. He died 13th March, 1834.

at War; *Earl St. Vincent*, First Lord of the Admiralty; *Lord Eldon*,* Lord Chancellor; *Earl of Chatham*,† President of the Council; *Earl of Hardwicke*,‡ Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; *Lord Lewisham*,§ President of the Board of Control. Many of the inferior offices were filled by subordinates in the late administration.

The new ministry were reproached with forcing the King's attention to business before his mind had become sufficiently settled. The Diary of Wilberforce, published with his Life, by his Sons, contains the minutes of a conversation he held with the Lord Chancellor at this period. "Eldon had just received the Great Seal, and I expressed my fears that they were bringing the King into public too soon after his late indisposition. 'You shall judge for yourself,' he answered, 'from what passed between us when I kissed hands on my appointment. The King had been conversing with me, and when I was about to retire, he said, 'Give my remembrance to Lady Eldon.' I acknowledged his condescension, and intimated that I was ignorant of Lady Eldon's claim to such a notice. 'Yes, yes,' he answered, 'I know how much I owe to Lady Eldon; I know that you would have made yourself a country curate, and that she has made you *my* Lord Chancellor.'"

The King was particularly fond of this pronoun, at this period, and in his correspondence with Mr. Addington, rarely failed to mention him as "my Chancellor of the Exchequer."

* John Scott, first earl. He died Jan. 13, 1838.

† The second earl, brother of William Pitt.

‡ Philip Yorke, third earl. He died 18th Nov. 1830.

§ George, second Earl of Dartmouth at the death of his father, in 1801. He died in 1810.

How England was holding herself against the coalition which seemed to menace her from every quarter, whilst across the narrow channel that divided her small territory from the hostile continent, the acknowledged master of the rest of Europe threatened her destruction with immense armaments, may be gathered from the following letters. The naval intelligence in Mr. Grenville's note, may be taken as a sample of our maritime enterprise at this period. Captain Fremantle's account of the great Baltic expedition, in which, as it will be seen, he held a distinguished post, will be found full of interesting details respecting his illustrious commander, with whom he associated on terms equally honourable to both.

It should, however, be added that this demonstration was planned by the late administration, to which is also due the credit of the brilliant successes the British arms achieved in Egypt, about the same time. The reader must not expect to meet with such instances of vigour and forethought, in the proceedings of the cabinet by which it was superseded.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Thursday, Feb. 5, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

The violent gale at west on the 22nd ult., had obliged Pellew to gain a good offing, and the sudden change to east prevented him for twenty-four hours from regaining his station; the French squadron, of seven sail of the line and two frigates, took advantage of this moment, and got out on the 23rd. On the 24th, Hotham in the 'Immortalité,' saw five line-of-battle ships to the north of Ferrol, lying to after a very heavy gale; so that at this time they had probably sent their two frigates to

Ferrol, and the other two line-of-battle were either detached, or were repairing the damage of the gale. Hotham followed them on the 25th, and having ascertained their course to be to the southward, he sent a cutter to Warren, who is off Cadiz, with an eighty, and three seventy-fours, to give him notice, while he himself went immediately to apprise Harvey. Barton, with the 'Concorde,' is likewise just come home; he saw, on the 26th, north of Ferrol, seven sail, who pursued him, but having gained some distance, and perceiving the two nearest to him to be frigates, he lay to and engaged the first for an hour and a half, at the end of which he had silenced her guns, but was obliged to give her up, from the five line-of-battle ships, and the other frigate coming up with him, when he made sail, and is just come home.

Lord Spencer tells me the two French frigates are the 'Bravoure,' fifty guns, and the 'Creole,' of forty-four, and that the latter is the ship which Barton had silenced—the 'Concorde' had four killed and sixteen wounded. Harvey had immediately detached in pursuit of them, and Warren being apprised likewise, there is good chance of meeting with them. The Lisbon packet reports to have seen two large ships of war to the southward on the 28th, which were probably the two of the original seven which had either been separated or detached.

Capt. Lindsay of 'l'Oiseau,' has taken the 'Dédaigneuse,' thirty-six guns, bound from Cayenne to Bordeaux, and a corvette is taken, just bound from Cadiz to Curaçoa. What can that mean—do they not know that we are masters of it? So much for our naval calendar. Pitt has a thorough fit of the gout in one foot, which confines him, and puts off Sheridan's motion of this day, for peace. Everything else remains as it did, and waits only a few days to form and to announce the new shape of things; of that new shape, William thinks more sanguinely than I do. My first fears are those of Ireland, and I know not how to look for any hopes by which to balance that apprehension.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

CAPTAIN THOMAS FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

'Ganges' at Anchor, off Cronsberg Castle,
March 29, 1801.

My Lord,

Since I wrote you, we have had two or three different plans for attacking Copenhagen, and I think whenever we pass Cronsberg Castle, we may probable have to alter it again. I told you in my last, that my private opinion was, that we ought to pass Cronsberg, take up a position off the island off Möen, and from thence form our mode of operations. I confess I feel the difficulty of explaining exactly all that *has passed* on this business, which I hope may yet succeed. At first, it was intended to get through the Belt, and make our attack on the Danish floating batteries from the other side. We were under way for one day, and it was then determined we were to pass the Castle, and anchor off Möen. This would have taken place if the wind had permitted us, but it has hung so to the southward that we could not lay through the channel. This plan, I am assured by Lord Nelson, still is to take place, and I will relate it to you exactly as he told it to me.

The squadron is divided into two divisions, the van containing all the ships of easy draft of water, under the command of Lord Nelson, to lead in, and take up their anchorage to the northward of the middle ground, and to the southward of Möen. The other division, under Sir Hyde, to pass the Castle and anchor two cables length asunder, about a mile and a half to the southward of the island of Möen. Lord Nelson then means to survey the floating batteries, &c., in the 'Amazon,' and if they are found to be in the situation described to us by Messrs. Vansittart and Drummond, Lord Nelson means, with his division, to go to the middle ground, and, from the southward, to make his attempt on the floating batteries moored along the banks to the eastward of Copenhagen. The 'Isis,' 'Glutton,' and 'Ardent,'

are first to move, and after passing two ships to anchor. The boats of the squadron under, I suppose, Captain Otway, with the 'Arrow' and 'Dart,' are to lay those two on board. The two fire-ships are to grapple with the line-of-battle ships at the entrance of the harbour from the northward. More ships are to be sent, if necessary, to support the 'Ardent,' &c. During the smoke, it is intended, if any favourable opportunity occurs, for the troops (to the number of 750 embarked in the flat boats, making in the whole, with seamen, a body of 1350,) to storm the two batteries, called the Crowns, which are built up with piles of stones. These boats are put under my command. Colonel Stewart of the Rifle corps commands the troops, the 49th regiment.

Lord Nelson is very sanguine, and will certainly undertake something. We sent a flag of truce, Captain Brisbane, in the 'Cruiser,' to ask if the governor of Cronsberg meant to fire on the squadron as they passed, and informing him, at the same time, that a shot fired would be considered as a declaration of war. Two officers from Copenhagen were on board the 'London' last night to reply. They talked very high, said Cronsberg was of no importance, but that if we passed the Castle we should never return; however it appeared very manifestly, that they were in great alarm, but will fire. The women and children have all left Copenhagen, and we have everything to hope for when contending with people who are so unaccustomed to fire.

While writing this, I have been out to get under way, and we shall anchor in a few minutes within four miles of Cronsberg Castle. No gun in hostility has yet been fired. The 'Edgar,' two frigates, and six bombs are now anchored near the Castle, and I expect we shall begin to-night. We are all in good spirits, and our ships in very good order. There is no want of enterprise, and everybody seems, I think, to feel the necessity of striking a blow here. Depend on it, we pass the Castle whenever the wind is any way to the northward, so as to allow us to get through the channel without making a board. I am aware that every hour

we lose is of serious importance to the country and ourselves; and this I have said on every occasion.

I am going to dine with Sir Hyde to-day, and if the wind is foul, with Nelson to-morrow. I am much flattered at the kindness they shew me, and have reason to be satisfied in my subordinate situation for the communication of their intentions.

'Ganges,' I think, as good as any ship here; we have no sick, and the people do their duty with great good will and alacrity. Lord Nelson has his flag on board the 'Elephant,' for the convenience of draft of water, and being so much more manageable than the 'St. George.'

Van.	Centre.
Elephant—Lord Nelson	Edgar
Monarch	St. George
Bellona	Warrior
Defiance—Admiral Graves	Raisonable
Russell	Saturn
Veteran	London
Polyphemus	Ganges
Ardent	Defence
Glutton	Ramilies
Isis	Veteran
Seven bombs, two fire-ships	
Six gun vessels, frigates and sloops	

I scarcely know whether I have written English, or if you can understand it, but I have no time to read it again, and the vessel will sail immediately.

Ever your Lordship's obedient servant,

T. F. F.

CAPTAIN THOMAS FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

'Ganges,' off Copenhagen, April 4.

My Lord,

For our action, I shall refer you to Lord Nelson's letter, which, in confidence, he *dictated to me* on board the 'St. George' while I wrote it; but to make the business more clear, I inclose a draft of the situation of the Danish ships and ours as opposed to them. The fatigue of firing so long was great, but our unexampled good fortune in the 'Ganges' is surprising. I felt much flattered at being appointed second to Lord Nelson, as well as to the Commander-in-chief. We followed the 'Elephant,' and I dropt my anchor in the spot Lord Nelson desired me from the gangway of the 'Elephant.' In passing the line, my master was killed, and my pilot had his arm shot off, so that I was obliged to carry the ship in myself, and I had full employment on my hands. The 'Monarch' and 'Defiance' are dreadfully cut up, as they were exposed to the Crown batteries; the 'Bellona' got on shore on both sides the channel, and, notwithstanding all that may be said, never could fire a shot with effect. They, however, did fire, and her loss of men was principally occasioned by the bursting of two guns on the lower deck, which has hurt the ship much. I visited Sir Thomas Thompson with Lord Nelson this morning, and he is doing as well as can be expected. The 'Russel' got on shore and could do nothing; 'Agamemnon' totally *hors de combat*; so that we were but nine sail of two-decked ships. I consider all this business as Nelson's, to whose ability and address we are certainly indebted for a conquest instead of a defeat.

The first mode of attack, I was attached to the command of the flat boats, but when I found a larger force was to go against the batteries, I begged Sir Hyde to allow the 'Ganges' to go. After getting by the middle ground I dined with him; and at night

with Riou, he planned the attack, a copy of which I received at eight next morning. At nine we weighed, and at ten we began. When the ships abreast of the 'Elephant' and 'Ganges' were completely silenced, Lord Nelson desired me to go to him. He was in his cabin talking to some Danish officers out of one of the ships captured, and saying how anxious he was to meet the Russians, and wished it had been them, instead of Danes we had engaged, &c., &c. At this time, he put into my hand a letter, which he meant to send immediately to the Prince in a flag of truce, threatening to burn every ship captured if the batteries did not cease firing. At this time, he was aware that our ships were cut to pieces, and it would be difficult for to get them out. We cut our cables and ran out. The ships were so crippled, they would not steer. The 'Elephant' and 'Defiance' both ran on shore. We ran on shore, and the 'Monarch;' and at this period when the batteries had not ceased firing, we counted no less than six sail of the line, and the 'Désirée' fast on shore. Luckily we had to contend with an enemy much beaten, and who did not take advantage of our situation; otherwise all those ships must have been lost. They are now all off, with great exertion, but as you may imagine, what a state a ship must be in, with so many wounded people on board, and so much crippled. We are all fitting as if we were at Spithead, though within five miles of Copenhagen. The carnage on board the Danish vessels taken exceeds anything I ever heard of; the 'Ca Ira' or Nile ships are not to be compared to the massacre on board them. The people generally were carpenters, labourers, and some Norwegian seamen. Luckily we have been enabled to keep our flag of truce up until now that I am writing, which is of great advantage to us. The Danes are between two fires, and the difficulty is great for them to decide on. There are not 5000 troops in Copenhagen, but I have no idea they can submit to the terms proposed to them. I have recommended stopping up the Sound with these hulks, and having no passage but through the Belt, in which

case, a small force will defend that pass; and the Russians have not seamanship enough to get through such an intricate passage.

Our masts and rigging are cut to pieces, but I think in a few days I shall be as effective as the day I left Yarmouth. The 'Monarch' is so bad, she must be sent home; one gun burst on board her, and another in the 'Isis.' The frigates behaved most gallantly; poor Riou had just cut his cable, and was going off when he was killed. I was much pleased at Lord Nelson's manner on board the 'Elephant,' after we ceased firing; he thanked me before everybody on the quarter-deck, for the support I had given him, &c. I have to attribute our good fortune in losing so few men to the bad gunnery of our opponents, and beating them most completely in less than an hour.

Lord Nelson, with whom I breakfasted this morning, has just been giving me an account of his reception on shore, when he went to treat with the Prince. He was hailed with cheers by the multitude, who came to receive him at the water-side, and "Viva Nelson" resounded until he got to the palace, much to the annoyance, I believe, of his royal highness and his ministers. During dinner, the people were allowed to come in to look at him, and on going down to the boat, again he was saluted the same way. The populace are much in our favour, and the merchants already feel the total want of commerce. I just received a letter from Otway, who is going on shore for a categorical answer, after which he will return to England; and as he is a particular friend of mine, he will, I am sure, give you any information you wish. He will call on my brother William.

Your most obedient servant,

T. F. Fremantle.

CAPTAIN THOMAS FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

'Ganges,' off Copenhagen, 6th April.

My Lord,

The note Lord Nelson sent on shore before the action was

over, is such a leading feature in this affair, that I have begged it of his Lordship, and shall copy it for your information.

TO THE BROTHERS OF ENGLISHMEN, THE DANES.

I. "Lord Nelson has directions to spare Denmark, when no longer resisting; but if the firing is continued on the part of Denmark, Lord Nelson will be obliged to set on fire all the floating batteries he has taken, without having the power of saving the brave Danes who have defended them."

2. "His Royal Highness, the Prince of Denmark, has sent Adjutant-General Landholin on board His Majesty's ship 'Elephant,' to Vice-Admiral Lord Nelson, to ask the particular object of sending the flag of truce."

3. "Lord Nelson's object in sending the flag of truce was humanity; he therefore consents that hostilities shall cease, and that the wounded Danes may be taken on shore. Lord Nelson will take his prisoners out of the vessels, and burn or carry off his prizes, as he shall think fit. Lord Nelson, with humble duty to his Royal Highness the Prince of Denmark, will ever consider this the greatest victory he ever gained, if it may be the cause of a happy reconciliation and union between his most gracious Sovereign, and his Majesty, the King of Denmark.

"(*Signed*) NELSON AND BRONTE.

"On board the 'London,' 6th April."

After much communication between Sir Hyde and the Danish government, I conclude the *ultimatum* is now on board this ship. I have just brought Lord Nelson from the 'St. George;' and we shall know in an hour or two, whether we are to commence hostilities or not; at all events, Otway will go in an hour. I do not presume to judge of the propriety of our terms to the Danes; but I know and feel as a seaman, that great sacrifices in our present situation should be made, sooner than to declare openly against them again. Should we begin with their bombs,

little will be effected, and our fleet must positively return to Leith or Yarmouth for water and stores. We are now with above 100 prisoners each, eating and drinking us out; and the ships could not have been fitted out, if we had not found a great quantity of stores on board the ships captured, all of which ships are to be burnt, except one, which Sir Hyde has commissioned as an hospital-ship. They are very fine ships, particularly one of the seventy-fours, which is much larger than the 'Ganges.' You may, perhaps, be shown several plans of our engagement. I took some pains in *placing* the ships; and all the others that I have seen are taken from *mine*. Lord St. Vincent's, is from mine, and is very fairly done without a scale. If we arrange *well* with the Danes, Lord Nelson will wish to proceed with twelve sail of the line to Revel. If so, I shall not I think be left out; and I am in hopes, on my return from this campaign, I shall obtain leave to go to Buckinghamshire for a few days.

These officers are gone on shore again, and it still remains unsettled. I hope we shall accommodate with the Danes, but I am fearful it will not happen.

Ever your Lordship's most faithfully,

T. F. Fremantle.

CAPTAIN THOMAS FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

'Ganges,' off Möen Island, 22nd April.

My Lord,

I wrote by Colonel Stewart, who left Copenhagen the 6th instant. We remained in the Road until the morning of the 13th, when twelve sail of two-decked ships weighed, and ran through the Grounds. I had brought the 'Ganges' to draw only twenty-two feet two inches, and led the fleet the whole way. We just touched the ground once, but never stopped. The 'Raisonable,' endeavouring to pass us, struck the

ground, but got off again before night. It made me, I confess, very nervous to be running four miles in four fathom and a half water, frequently in less. The 'London' got all her guns out, but struck hard several times, though reduced to draw only twenty-two feet seven inches. She has knocked off part of her gripe. Most of the ships touched; but I do not hear of any very material damage being done. The whole squadron were at anchor in Kiöge Bay at night, except the 'St. George' and 'Agamemnon.'

The 16th, the wind continuing southerly, Lord Nelson left the 'St. George,' and hoisted his flag in the 'Elephant.' The 17th we weighed from Kiöge Bay, and on the 19th arrived off the harbour of Carlscrona, where the Swedish fleet of seven sail of the line and some frigates, were anchored. Since which time the squadrons have been cruising between Carlscrona and the Island of Bornholm. Yesterday, Sir Hyde received letters from Copenhagen, and among them, a notification from the Russian minister, that the differences between the Courts of Petersburgh and St. James's, were likely to be adjusted, &c. This has, I believe, determined Sir Hyde to return to Kiöge Bay, where I conclude he will remain until he hears from England. He has made the signal for letters, so that I am apprehensive I shall not know more until the vessel has sailed from the fleet.

The ships begin to grow short of water; and it strikes me, that had we been under the necessity of proceeding to the Gulf of Finland, we should have been much straitened for it. I anchored yesterday, with leave, off the Small Island, on rocks of Christiansoë, or Entholmar, which lie to the northward of Bornholm. The seven rocks together, do not cover much more than a mile; but should it ever be found necessary to send a fleet of men-of-war in these seas, we ought to possess ourselves of this island, as the top of them are full of water preserved in tanks, which by conductors may be brought down to the boats. Besides which, two of these rocks are so near each other, as to

make a harbour for small vessels, and on occasion would serve to heave down a seventy-four gun ship—there being twenty-six feet of water. It is very strongly fortified, and contains more than 1000 inhabitants, who are all under military jurisdiction, and live in barracks. They all fish; and vessels from hence are sent weekly to Copenhagen, laden in the same way as the Dutch boats, with wells in them. There is a light-house on the top of the rock; and it is a place much frequented by English merchant ships trading to the Gulf of Finland. 24th, I just return from the 'London.' The 'St. George' and 'Agamemnon' touched in coming through the Grounds.' We shall, I expect, anchor to-night in Kiöge Bay; and if anything material occurs before the vessel goes, I will write again.

Lord Nelson's startling demonstration in the Baltic was followed by the appearance of Lord St. Helens at Copenhagen, and subsequently at St. Petersburg, as an invited negotiator. Then came intelligence of the brilliant, yet fatal, victory gained by Sir Ralph Abercrombie at Alexandria on the 21st of March. A great battle gained against troops that had been regarded by many of the European states as invincible, coming immediately after our energetic attack upon the menacing confederacy in the north, produced so wholesome an impression in that quarter, that the thing dissolved like a snow-flake in the sun.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April, 30, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I have just now met Addington in the park, who stopped to tell me that Mr. Lock, our consul at Naples, arrived here this morning upon his own private business, that he had passed through Paris, where he had been told by Lucchesini, the

Prussian minister there, on Friday last, that the French governmen had received accounts from Egypt on the preceding evening, of a decisive action having taken place in favour of the English, in which action Menou was taken prisoner. Addington said that he had not the smallest doubt of the authenticity of this intelligence, which is to the greatest degree important, both in the object of Egypt, and in the still greater object of restoring in some part the reputation of the English army. My old friend Lucchesini, was always better informed than any other foreign minister, and if he has said it, he is not likely to be mistaken in it.

God bless you, dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 9, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I see no prospect of any parliamentary business to take me to town; and I understand they talk of proroguing the first or second week in June. Everything seems to go on so prosperously, that one has only to wish them discernment to see, and firmness to avail themselves of the advantageous circumstances of the moment.

If there were a grain of spirit left at Vienna, the annexation of Piedmont to France would set it in fermentation. I am sure my old friend Thugut would not have rested an hour quiet under such a step, but I believe that very different counsels now prevail there.

Warren has rendered a very important public service, though one less brilliant than it was very near turning out.

I conclude that Menou's army is weaker than we had supposed it; for if he had any near prospect of reinforcement, no man in his senses would have attacked Abercrombie's army with little more than 5000 men. He must, I think, have known that this

was nearly all he could draw together; and in that case he certainly did right to attack as soon as possible.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

The precarious state of the King's health continued to excite a great deal of anxiety in his most faithful subjects. The new ministry seemed disposed to shut their eyes to the embarrassments contingent upon a prolonged or incapacitating attack. The condition of their sovereign was, however, so distressing, it ought to have stirred them to attempt something remedial; but they evidently thought it more safe for themselves to go on from day to day, hoping for, rather than expecting an improvement. In Lord Grenville's letter, of May 26, will be found one of those prophetic intimations for which his correspondence is remarkable. A little later several changes were effected in the administration, the Duke of Portland becoming President of the Council; Lord Pelham, Home Secretary; and the Earl of Chatham, Master General of the Ordnance.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

11th May, 1800.

My dearest Brother,

An officer is arrived with the news of the surrender of the Danish West India islands, to Captain Trowbridge. Calder left Martinique the 30th of March for Jamaica, and is expected here, by the end of this month. The sickness of Gantheaume's squadron is confirmed by the arrival of a cartel lieutenant, who passed ten days at Toulon.

The Duke of York told me yesterday, that he had passed three hours on the preceding day with the King, who had like-

wise admitted Addington while the Duke was with him; he is described to be still thin, but better in flesh than he was before he went to Kew. There will be a birthday which the Queen and Princesses will attend. It is still expected that before the end of the session, opposition will in some shape stir the question of the King's health. My opinion is, that government would do well to adjourn parliament instead of proroguing, as that will save the alarm of the public as to the impossibility of parliament being duly convened in case of the King's relapse during prorogation; yet this is only an idea of my own, and I have no reason to think it is intended to adopt it. They will probably go on to the last day, expecting such an amendment in the King as will restore him to his own servants and family, and to his ordinary habits and functions. I do not feel more satisfaction than you in the Irish appointments; I am a good deal persuaded that the French will be induced to try it, and I am quite convinced that if Lord Cornwallis had been pressed to stay this summer, as a point of military service, with the expectation of foreign attack, he would not have hesitated to do so; but I suspect that they are as glad to get rid of him, as he is to get rid of them.

Pray tell me what destination you are able to make out for Stephen, as soon as you can learn them. God bless you, dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 26, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

Our success in Egypt is still more important in my eyes from the confidence it is calculated to give to our troops, than from the effect it must *ultimately* produce on the possession of that country. I do not guess from such particulars as have come to my knowledge, that it is intended there to pursue our success by any active measures, and from inactivity in that climate there is everything to fear for the health, and perhaps discipline of our

troops. It is pretty clear, by the mere fact of sending reinforcements from home at this season of the year, that government does not look to any early termination of the business.

I certainly agree with you in thinking that Bonaparte has not the most remote idea of peace, but looks to the continuance of the war as his only salvation. Indeed, *unless he can find a pretence to plunder Portugal, and perhaps Spain too,** the machine of his goverment cannot go on, now that requisitions in Germany and Italy are at an end. I could bring a thousand little circumstances, which the long habit of watching that nest of robbers and assassins, called the French government, teaches me to look to as decisive proof that their intentions, at this moment, are entirely warlike.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

Nelson had given "a heavy blow and great discouragement" to the Northern confederacy; and the violent death of its chief, the Emperor Paul, proved its destruction. His successor, Alexander, entertained totally different views to those his imperial father had so frantically adopted; and in a very short time all the powers of the league testified a desire to abandon their hostility to Great Britain. Our brilliant military achievements in Egypt had given a reputation to our armies, which our fleets had never ceased to maintain. In short, England was considered by her government to be in a position that would sanction an attempt to test the sincerity of Bonaparte's peaceful professions, and silence the reproaches of opposition for not

* This pretence, as is well known, Bonaparte soon afterwards found. It is not unlikely that he was contemplating such appropriations when Lord Grenville wrote. It is clear from the context, and from Bonaparte's acknowledgments to his confidential associates, that his lordship entertained a singularly accurate conception of the First Consul's position.

preferring his doubtful alliance to his formidable hostility. Lord Hawkesbury opened a communication with M. Otto, who was still in London, and this was the commencement of a long negotiation, which, however, did not interrupt the progress of the English arms, either by sea or land. We gained entire possession of Egypt; a flotilla with which Bonaparte threatened our shores with invasion from Boulogne, was fiercely assailed by Nelson; and a combined French and Spanish fleet was intercepted by Saumarez, at Algesiraz, and, on a second attack, several of the ships were sunk or taken.

For the present, however, we must turn from these inspiring records, to introduce a communication that commences with a subject of a totally different complexion, though to many not less interesting. The writer was one of the most ardent lovers of books, without putting forth pretensions to bibliomania, existing at this period. In short, he loved wisely and not too well, and the result of his long and honourable attachment must always keep his name in grateful remembrance by the English scholar.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

June 13, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I have just heard from the Bishop of Bangor that the thirty copies of L. P. Homer, which remain after the Oxford deliveries, are on their road to Charles Street; when they come, we will finally settle our list of presents. In the meantime, the Bishop desires that you will be so good as to pay in immediately at Child's, one hundred guineas for the use of the Clarendon press, to the account of Dr. Marlow, Vice-Chancellor. The Bishop apologises

for asking guineas instead of pounds, by stating the increased expense of Porson's collation; and, as they have been very liberal in this business, I have ventured to assure him that, if he can suggest to us any decorous mode of our contributing to lessen that expense to the University press, we will readily and willingly adopt it.

The last wonder that I hear is an intended peerage for Sir C. Grey. As his son and he are upon the best terms, and there is no reason to doubt of Grey's approving of this, every body is at a loss to understand how he can so mistake his interest as to suffer a coronet upon his father's dying head, the consequence of which will be to move him from the House of Commons, where he now takes such powerful lead—*je m'y perds.* I am told for answer, that it is a military peerage of the king's giving; but still the effect will be the same, and might, as I suppose, be avoided, if Grey chose to avoid it. Pray tell me how long you stay at Stowe. I have no news.

God bless you, dearest brother.

The Marquis of Buckingham appears to have not yet become reconciled to the military arrangements that affected his county. A communication to the government on the subject, elicited almost immediate explanation from the highest authority.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, July 1, 1801.

My dear Lord,

I this morning have had a conversation with the Duke of of York upon the subject of your letter of the 29th ultimo, and he desired me to mention to your Lordship, that the orders respecting the division of the county of Buckingham, had been occasioned by the expectation of riots in the district commanded

by General Grinfield, and were only to be considered of a temporary nature; but that with a view to the defence of the metropolis, and all general ideas of permanent military service; the county of Buckingham had been, and would again, be placed within the London district. His Royal Highness added, that measures were now taking for collecting the troops that had been dispersed under the apprehension of disturbance, and when that was done, he conceived there would be no objection to making the arrangement you propose.

Mr. Harrison has promised an opinion in writing, upon your militia memorandum; and I hope to be able to write to your Lordship upon that subject in the course of this week.

I have the honour to be,

My dear Lord,

Your most obedient and faithful humble servant,

HOBART.

It appears from the following, that an important post, the embassy to St. Petersburgh, was offered to Mr. Thomas Grenville by the Addington administration, and declined; evidently in a manner that left on the mind of the proposer very little prospect of obtaining his services. It should, however, be borne in mind, that he and his brother continued to support the new ministry in every measure of consequence. There is no trace of this overture in the "Life of Lord Sidmouth," though Mr. Addington must have been cognisant of so important a proposal from one of the Secretaries of State.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, July 27, 1801.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

My prediction was fully verified; and the result of my con-

ference with the secretary, was such as you will naturally have expected. On his part, some fine words to say that it being intended to make Petersburgh the first foreign establishment, with a permanent ambassador, he was anxious to know how far this situation might be agreeable to me; on my part, a civil acknowledgment of his attention to me, and a very decided determination not to think of accepting the proposition which was made to me.

To the loss of the 'Hannibal,' we have now to add that of the 'Swiftsure;' Gantheaume has brought her into Frejus, and we have no other consolation than that of knowing that he has failed of his object to reinforce the French in Egypt. No accounts are yet received here, either of the loss of the 'Hannibal,' or of the 'Swiftsure,' but of the latter we may hear hourly, as they are arrived at Frejus.

Lord Nelson has a new command given to him, upon which he enters with great alacrity. He commands, small craft and all, from Orford to the Nore inclusive, in order to defend the coast; and Trowbridge is his second. Whether the French are in earnest or not, I know not; but I have no doubt they will continue their demonstrations, even if they do not put them into effect.

God bless you and yours, dearest brother.

There is some similarity in the position of the successful British army in Egypt, in the spring of 1801, about to be described, and its commander with that of the British army in the Crimea, and its commander, in the winter of 1854; but coincidences still more striking, frequently occur in this correspondence, and suggest comparisons between the present and the past, that if not decidedly "odious," are certainly far from satisfactory.

MR. E. FISHER TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, Aug. 22.

My dear Lord,

The scrawl of Saturday afternoon was written in much haste, in order to save the post, that I am by no means certain it was intelligible. The Gazette has, however, before this time served as an errata to my inaccuracies.

Notwithstanding the desire of people to speak well of Hutchinson, yet the length of time between the capture of Rhamanie, and his arrival before Cairo, is so great (between eight and nine weeks,) that I find his conduct much criticised for the want of that activity and decision in his operations, which, if properly exerted, would long since have decided the fate of Egypt. The very favourable conditions granted to the French army, are justified by the private letters from General Moore, who states that had a siege taken place, our army would inevitably have been rendered by fatigue and disease, incapable of further offensive operations. At present, though worn a good deal down with fatigue and hardships, everybody in it continues uncommonly healthy. Moore thinks the garrison of Alexandria will not refuse sharing the fate of their brethren of Cairo. The inhabitants of this ill-fated city will, it is believed, on the departure of our troops from it, suffer everything from the Turk that his vindictive spirit can devise.

Lord Wellesley, I hear, shares with Hutchinson a little the ill-humour of some people here, for his dilatoriness in forwarding the Indian auxiliaries. When last heard of, they had only reached Jedda, and had lost the season for the further navigation of the Red Sea. It is hoped here they will return to Bombay without loss of time, as their stay at Jedda must be attended with a ruinous expense. Only the 300 men who were on board Plunket's ship, had reached Suez. I am sorry to have to state the loss of a troop-ship at Rosetta—the 'Iphigenia.' We had

three squadrons in search of Gantheaume, when he attempted to land his men on the coast of Africa. Four of his transports, with troops, military stores, and *comedians*, have been taken by Lord Keith. A corvette escaped into Alexandria; but it is now certain that Gantheaume did not succeed in forwarding a single soldier to Egypt. The troops on board his squadron had been so sickly, that he was obliged to send three sail of the line to Toulon, with those of the most desperate cases. And finally, the troops which attempted to debark on the coast of Africa, returned to Toulon in the most deplorable state of disease.

Ever, my dear Lord,
Yours most entirely,
E. F.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Aug. 1801.

Dearest Brother,

If the Gazette is ready for to-night's post, it will give you more details than I at present know; but, at all events, I will write you in a few words the substance of what I hear. The 'Flora' is arrived from Alexandria, which place she left on the 7th of April. She brings official accounts of the battle of the 21st of March. Poor Abercrombie was wounded by a ball which lodged in his hip; and, as it could not be extracted, he died on the 28th. The battle was, however, a complete victory to us, the loss of the French being stated in some letters at 3000, while others call it 6000; our loss in killed and wounded is under 300 of the former, and under 1200 of the latter; ten officers are killed, but I hear no names except that of Lieutenant-Colonel Ogilvie, who was said to be a remarkable good officer; 60 are wounded. The action took place on the isthmus between the lake and the sea, where the French were very strongly intrenched, and still keep their post with 6000 men, which is the whole force that they now have in Egypt, except a demi-brigade at Cairo. After

Abercrombie's death, General Hutchinson with 4000 men is gone across to Rhamanie; and while the other 8000 men are keeping the French in check in front, I presume that he means to turn the right of the French intrenchments which are defended by the lake. Rhamanie is also of great moment for the intercepting of all communication between Cairo and Alexandria, and for the better supply of water to the English army. Meantime, four Turkish ships of the line have joined Lord Keith, and before the 'Flora' left Alexandria, Warren had arrived with his seven sail. Ghezzar Pacha had also joined the Vizier's army, and Colonel Spencer, with 5000 Turks and 500 English, was gone to take possession of Rosetta. Upon the whole, things look very promising in Egypt, and I am sanguine enough to expect that when Menou hears of Gautheaume being returned to Toulon, he will probably offer to accept terms of capitulation.

It is asserted that the French prisoners all appeared to be drunk, that the officers had taken the flints out of the muskets of the advanced guard, in order to force them to charge bayonet, and that the prisoners themselves say their men could not be brought again to the charge after the vigorous push made on them by our troops. I believe *it is a secret* that, by some misunderstanding, we had not sufficient ammunition on the field, or the loss of the enemy would have been still greater; but yet I trust it will all do well. General Moore was well enough to have joined; Sir Sidney had not been wounded; Erskine was dead of his former wound.

The King has seen the Chancellor for two hours, and the Ministers give out that the King will hold a council in a day or two at farthest.

God bless you, dearest brother.

" P.S. Do not forget Stephen, who is ready to learn his lesson.

The French admiral named in the preceding letter, three times, by command of the First Consul, left Toulon

with a fleet to succour the French army in Egypt, and three times returned to port having failed to accomplish his mission. The possession of Egypt having been a principal feature of Bonaparte's grand idea of destroying the British Empire in India, we can readily believe Junot's statement that the intelligence of its entire conquest by the English, and the surrender of the French army there established, produced in the mind of the First Consul cruel agony. He acknowledged that his projects and his dreams had been annihilated by this event; indeed the importance of our advantage could scarcely be exaggerated.

The following communication from the Governor-General of India, is an additional illustration of this brilliant enterprise.

THE MARQUIS OF WELLESLEY TO SIR HOME POPHAM.

(Private and Secret.) Berhampore, Sept. 1, 1801.

SIR,

The despatches which I have received from Egypt since your departure, combined with the most recent advices from Fort St. George, have induced me to determine to recall my orders for equipping an additional armament from India in the present moment. I have, therefore, despatched a letter to the Vice-President in Council to that effect; and I take the earliest opportunity of informing you, that our preparations from India must now be limited to the provision of such articles of supply, as may be required for the army in Egypt. I cannot, however, relinquish the armament which I had proposed to equip under your directions, and with your assistance, without assuring you of the high sense which I retain of the zeal, talents, and knowledge which you manifested in the communications which have passed between us, and of the confidence which I should

have reposed in the success of any operation conducted by an officer of such acknowledged enterprise and skill. I shall take an early occasion to record these sentiments for the information of the Court of Directors, and to submit them to his Majesty's Ministers, with whom I correspond officially on all subjects of military detail. By Mr. Udny I shall communicate to you a further view of the state of supplies despatched, or under despatch, from Fort St. George; and I shall request you to favour me with your opinion on the whole question of supplies for Egypt. In the meanwhile, the Vice-President in Council has received my instructions to forward the preparation of such articles as you may require.

I shall also solicit the advantage of your sentiments, with respect to a system of general rules for the improvement of future embarkations of men or stores from India.

With respect to your political mission to the Arab States, I shall immediately transmit a letter to you, through the political department. I have directed the necessary orders to be sent to Fort William, for providing you with tents and equipage for your journey from Mocha to Sennah.

Under all the circumstances of the present crisis, it appears to me, that your most advisable course would be to return to the Red Sea as soon as the season will admit. I shall hereafter enter fully into the subject of all the memoranda, which I have had the honour to receive from you.

Notwithstanding that the result of your proceeding to this port, does not now appear likely to be precisely answerable to your expectations of active service, or to my wish of availing myself of your exertions against Batavia, I must repeat my most sincere thanks to you for having, with so much promptitude, taken a measure which has enabled me to obtain a more accurate view of the state of our army in Egypt, as well of the affairs of Arabia, than I could possibly have acquired in any other mode. You may be assured that I shall offer to you, the tribute of my

public acknowledgments of the judgment, alacrity, and zeal for the service, which dictated a proceeding not only expedient under any circumstances, but highly proper and prudent in the crisis which existed at the time of your departure from the Red Sea.

I have the honour to be,
With great respect and esteem, Sir,
Your most faithful servant,
WELLESLEY.

You will be glad to learn that our voyage has been prosperous and without accident, although we were obliged to remain at anchor the whole of the 28th and 29th ultimo, within sight of the Nabob of Bengal's boats, which would not venture to approach us until the 30th at noon, such was the violence of the weather.

The two gossiping communications from Mr. Fremantle now printed, dated August 23rd, and September 13th, give an animated picture of the Royal Family—particularly the conduct of the Prince of Wales, as well as of the preparations for defence that had been made on the south-east coast. The subsequent letters, treat of the state of public feeling in this country, immediately previous to a treaty of peace with France, of which the preliminaries were signed on the 1st of October by Lord Hawkesbury and M. Otto.

MY LORD,

When I wrote to you last, I had no doubt, from all I heard, that the proposed meeting of the Prince of Wales at Kew would take place.

The King and Royal Family went yesterday accordingly for

that purpose; but, after waiting some time, an excuse was brought from his Royal Highness, saying that illness prevented his coming. This note was sent from Bushy Park, the Duke of Clarence's. You must judge the indignation of the King; and, to say the truth, after the overtures and exertions made by the Prince to procure a reconciliation, it is to me strange, indeed, that he should have put himself again so far in the wrong. I am aware of a negotiation which has taken place for [military] rank for him, before the offer of this meeting, but he was perfectly aware it would not be allowed, and had courted the interview. I saw the King afterwards in the evening, and he expressed himself to me with great indignation. You may easily suppose that it agitated him; but, upon the whole, I don't think he is sorry. He was prevailed upon to do it by his Ministers, and he has now deferred any interview (if it ever takes place,) till his return from Weymouth. Probably, the Prince was indignant at his having first seen (or seen at all,) the Princess of Wales. I hear his Royal Highness means to revenge himself, by not permitting Princess Charlotte, whom the King increases his love for, and for whom he is now fitting up a house at Windsor, to be styled hers, to come to Windsor. I hear he says he shall not permit her to leave Blackheath, even for a visit.

I have just left the King; and though I expected from his appearance and manners of yesterday, to have found him greatly irritated this morning, I must say I thought him considerably better than I should have thought. They set off to-morrow morning for Weymouth. I pity the poor Queen; you can have no idea what she suffers, and I can't explain to you by letter, the causes of it.

My Lord,

I have been at this place (Weymouth,) about a week, and I should have written to you before, if I had had anything worth communicating to you, but there are very few people here, and the place is uncommonly dull. I think the King is looking

remarkably well, and seems to have entirely recovered his former looks and health. I have sailed two or three times, whenever the weather has permitted, on board the yatch (sic,) which is magnificently fitted up, and I think better suited in every respect for the Royal Family than a frigate. They sail less distant from the land; and the whole of the arrangements and provision being furnished by the King, it is done much more handsomely, and with less difficulty. The Royal Family leave this place for Windsor, on the 1st of October. We have the Rifle corps encamped on the look-out, the Staffordshire in barracks, the North Devon encamped near the turnpike, and the Berkshire towards Wick, the Greys, at Dorchester, and two squadrons—a part at these barracks—the York Hussars, encamped near Radipole. A part of the Staffordshire return next week to Windsor, and the remainder follow after the King. The 'Royal Charlotte' yatch has two captains—Sir Harry Burrard and Captain Farnham. The 'Augusta' yatch, the 'Cambrian,' and 'Fortunée,' are here. I understand Legge quits the 'Cambrian,' upon her leaving this station, for a line-of-battle ship. We had last week a council, which brought Mr. Addington, Lord and Lady Hobart, Westmoreland, &c., &c. The former sailed with the Royal Family the day he remained.

I hear Lord Bulkeley is left immensely by Sir G. Warren's death—all the houses, &c., &c. Lady Warren is left very ill; he is going to attend the funeral at Poynton. The Warren estates, I hear, go to Sir John Warren after Lady Bulkeley's death. I suppose your Lordship has heard that my brother Tom has had a bad fever on board the 'Ganges,' and is not yet sailed. I hear his wife is gone back to Portsmouth.

The Prince of Wales comes here for a few days on Tuesday next. Prince Adolphus has been here the whole time, and seems a remarkable gentlemanlike amiable young man, uncommonly attentive and affectionate in his behaviour to the King. I find that your Lordship is returned from Colchester to Chelmsford,

at which I should imagine you were not very sorry. I heard there was for some time, but two colonels of militia with eight regiments at that place, even at the moment when the first alarm of invasion made a greater impression than it does now. At this place, we don't hear a word upon the subject of invasion; and I should imagine government felt themselves very secure on this coast, as there is not a single gun or soldier between this place and Portsmouth. The Dorsetshire yeomanry are to be reviewed on Thursday next; I hear they will not muster so strong as last year. The Queen, I think, appears in much better health than she was last year.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sept, 24, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

My apprehension of invasion grows only out of the apprehensions of government, like Madame de Sévigné, who said of her asthmatic friend, *"J'ai mal à sa poitrine."* But exclusive of this sympathetic alarm, I do not entertain many original and proper expectations of French invasion, and least of all, do I believe that, if any such attack were to take place, it would be seriously directed against the English coast, while that of Ireland holds out temptations much more alluring; although it doubtless might be useful to the enemy to distract our attention from their main object by as many different demonstrations as they can devise, to harass our troops and to perplex our commanders. Meanwhile, the general opinion, which is all that I know, seems to distrust any peaceable result from the negotiation which is daily passing between Calais and Dover; and therefore it seems to me that Mr. Addington must unavoidably have made up his mind to a war-budget, and must be preparing for parliament his account of what has been done for peace, and what is to be done for war.

In one respect, it seems to me that whatever dexterity or awk-

wardness may be seen in any treaty of peace, and whatever of triumph or of humiliation we might be invited to subscribe to in it, we must, in one respect at least, be content to put by from us the main blessings of peace, which are confidence, security, and a reduction of our expenses naval and military, by putting them upon a peace-establishment; for although I can conceive that government, to catch at the popularity of peace, may accede to terms which I might think inadequate, I cannot conceive any minister bold enough to put a single frigate out of commission, if the terms of that peace shall allow France to hold Spain, Portugal, and Italy in subjection, and to hold Flanders, Holland, and part of Germany in possession. While this enormous force remains in the hands of our natural enemies, whatever treaty be signed or be rejected, our only hope of security must consist in the undiminished exertions of the naval strength of this country. This proposition seems to me to be demonstrably true; and if it be, if peace will neither afford us security nor economy, if our expenses and our danger continue to be the same in peace that they are in war, the choice between those two situations becomes a question which, to my mind, appears to be of very easy solution. I understand that the King comes to Windsor the first week in October, and that parliament will probably meet about the second week in November; but neither these nor any other government secrets are known but by guess either to me or, as I believe, to any body else in this house.

God bless you, dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Aylesbury, Oct. 2, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I had scarcely sealed my letter to Mr. Fisher, when Lord Carrington acquainted me that he had received a letter from Mr Pitt to tell him that preliminaries of peace were signed yesterday, the 1st of October. What was confidentially said of the terms

in that letter is that, "though perhaps they may not be exactly in every point all that this country could wish, yet are they upon the whole very honourable and highly advantageous to the interests of the country." These are pretty nearly the words, which I repeat to you for your own information, though you will of course see that they must not be quoted. As I know no details, I cannot even guess at what is gained or what is lost in the articles of peace; but I continue, till I am better informed, to believe that no peace can be advantageous to this country, that leaves to France all its present means, if we are engaged by secret or public article to put our navy upon a peace establishment. I am, however, quite content to put by this discussion by letter, as I take for granted your military service will not now be so strict as to prevent your coming to the sessions and to Stowe early enough after next Wednesday for us to meet you there.

What is to become of our yeomanry? Government will be mad if they do not immediately take steps to make it in some shape permanent. I shall go on with my exercise till Thursday as if no such news had arrived.

God bless you, dearest brother.

Pray do not forget a line by return of post.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Oct. 2, 1801.

My dearest Brother,

I received this morning from Lord Hawkesbury, the information that preliminaries of peace are signed. As this event will probably relax the strictness of the orders for the presence of officers with their corps, I trust you will soon avail yourself of it to enjoy yourself at Stowe, and I am very desirous of meeting you there as soon as my yeomanry campaign is over. I think it is at least as necessary as it ever was to attend to this, and I hold that the law and the terms of our engagement do not

disband us till the definitive treaty is signed. Before that time, I trust parliament will have made some provision for our continuance.

I hear nothing yet of parliament meeting, but I conclude it cannot be long before we are called together. I hope it will allow time for our meeting at Stowe, but at all events I shall be anxious to see you before the opening of the Session, and rather than omit this I would come to Gosfield if it were necessary.

Yours most affectionately,

G.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Ham Common, October 7, 1801.

My dear Lord,

Having no copy of the preliminary articles, it is not in my power at present to give you any further information than to say, that the substance of them has been stated in the "True Briton," and "Sun," with the exception of the article by which France acknowledges the republic of the Ionian islands. There are also articles respecting sequestrations on funded property, revenues and debts, and for securing the inhabitants of the islands to be free from molestation in their persons and property, on account of their adherence to Great Britain.

It would be a great satisfaction to me to know that the terms of peace were such as could obtain your testimony in their favour, as I can assure you, under a full consideration of all the circumstances under which they were concluded, they are such as I can *bond fide* approve.

The prospect of better terms by the continuation of the war, and the means of carrying it on, I am persuaded will have their due weight in your view of the subject, and that aware as you must be of the difficulties we had to encounter, though you may not be able to contemplate peace without apprehension, you will justly appreciate the eventual danger of prolonging hostilities,

and form your opinion upon a candid consideration of the whole of the question.

Ever, my dear Lord,
Most sincerely yours,
HOBART.

The conditions on which Lord Grenville had stated in the House of Lords, that he would support the new government, were violated by the miserable treaty they had entered into with France; they had ceased "to act in a firm, resolute, and manly manner," and at once Lord Grenville made them aware that they must no longer count upon his assistance. He wrote a letter to Mr. Addington, dated the 14th of October, in which, with his usual frankness, he said, "public duty will compel me to express in parliament my deep regret at the manner in which both these negotiations have been terminated, and my conclusion of the absolute necessity of providing, by all possible means of precaution and preparation, against the new and imminent dangers to which I fear the country is exposed."* This communication, Mr. Addington forwarded to Mr. Pitt, with a letter in which he wrote: "A new scene is now opening, and I incline to think that we shall be driven by the force of circumstances into a situation, with respect to each other, neither unsatisfactory to the country, nor upon the whole to ourselves." What was the exact character of this situation, we are not informed. We are told only, that Mr. Pitt replied in a manner "completely satisfactory." Nevertheless, this satisfactory docu-

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. I., p. 459.

ment appears to have shared the fate of the rest of his mysterious correspondence; not a line of it has been preserved.

Lord Grenville, in his place in parliament, soon afterwards expressed his opinion of the recent negotiation. He was prominent among the "many men gifted with greater sagacity and foresight in Great Britain, who deeply lamented the conditions by which peace had been purchased, and from the very first prophesied that it could be of no very long endurance."* He denounced it in a strain of indignant eloquence, admirably adapted to rouse the pride, and excite the dissatisfaction of his countrymen. At that moment, however, the prospect of the promised continuation of peace and prosperity, proved so alluring, that he failed to produce any decided impression.

We are about to bring forward evidence of that disposition of borough patronage, to which the Reform Bill almost entirely put an end; much as it has been condemned, there is no doubt that some of our ablest public men owed their utility, perhaps their fame, to the facilities for proceeding in their vocation, afforded them by such liberality as the Marquis of Buckingham exhibited towards Mr. Wyndham. This statesman availed himself of the advantage placed at his disposal, and for some years remained indebted to his Lordship for his parliamentary position.

The mutiny mentioned by Mr. Grenville, arose in some men-of-war; Téméraire, Windsor Castle, Orion, Achilles, and four frigates, about to sail to strengthen the force in the West India station; the seamen in the ship of Rear-

* Alison's History of Europe, Vol. V., p. 164.

Admiral Campbell, the 'Téméraire,' refusing to weigh anchor, except to sail for England, under the impression that the recent treaty with France had released them from their engagements. The mutiny was quelled by force; the ships sailed from Bantry Bay to Portsmouth, on the 26th of December, and the offenders having been tried by a court-martial, at which Admiral Cornwallis presided, twenty were found guilty, and eleven suffered death.

Charles Street, 16th Dec. 1801.

My dearest Brother,

As soon as I had received your letter this morning, I called upon Wyndham, and communicated to him the general tenour of it, with which he is much gratified, and desires through me to give you his best thanks for your kind offer,* which is much too valuable for him not thankfully to accept, in case he should be defeated at Norwich. His friends are still sanguine enough about his success to make it impossible that he should, in the present state of things, mar his hopes at Norwich by a previous election at St. Mawes, but in order to do all that he can to prevent any inconvenience to you, he has promised to give the earliest possible intimation to you of his abandoning Norwich, if that should become necessary; if, however, the St. Mawes election should happen previous to any final decision about him at Norwich, the suggestion which you make of my being returned for both will, he hopes, put you to no inconvenience. Lord Bayning, who lives near Norwich, told me yesterday, that he thought Wyndham would have a good chance in spite of the cry there in favour of peace.

I was told by Lord Hertford, that Addington this morning had described to a friend of his, that the mutiny in Bantry

* The Marquis had proposed to return him for St. Mawes.

Bay was over; it had chiefly arisen on board the 'Glory' and 'Téméraire,' who were to sail with the first division of the fleet under Campbell to the West Indies; on board the 'Téméraire' were several men who had enlisted to serve during the war, and complained of being over-reached by a service for which they found the ships to be victualled for five months; the officers reasoned with them, and had in great measure appeased them, but one of the common sailors being insolent in his language, was ordered to be confined, upon which the crew of the 'Téméraire' rose, and required him to be released; my account says that after a little time, the Marine officers on board the 'Téméraire,' found their men steady and ready to do their duty, so that upon their appearing suddenly in arms upon the quarter-deck, the crew made their submission, and all is now said to be quiet. As this is the narrative of government, I fear that it may not be "the whole truth," but I give it you such as I hear it.

I know nothing of any negotiation with Lord Moira, but I have reason to believe that before Grey went out of town, a proposition was made to him, which he was desired to consider of. Whether he be bound to Lord Moira, I know not; but I think it likely, that since Fox's latter retirement from politics, Grey will probably have taken the lease of that station, with the stock and growing crops; and, therefore, that his political engagements may be too numerous for Addington to admit with safety to himself. Of Lord Moira, I should have expected to have heard in any new arrangements, if you had not told me from himself, that he will not be an associate of the Duke of Portland, and I do not think they will dismiss the old minister to make room for the new. With the short gleams of the sun, I look, while it shines, towards Stowe and Althorp; but the black cold of the evening, chills the gay projects of the morning. If I can leave my fire, it shall be to come to yours, but I distrust myself.

God bless you, dearest brother.

1802.

THE SURRENDER OF THE CAPE OF GOOD HOPE COUNTERMANDED—THE PEACE OF AMIENS—LORD GRENVILLE AND MR. PITT—DESPATCHES FROM LORD ELGIN—THE STATE OF JAMAICA AND OF ST. DOMINGO.

NEGOTIATIONS for peace were proceeding at Amiens, under the auspices of the Marquis Cornwallis and Joseph Bonaparte, assisted by Talleyrand. About this period several Englishmen who prided themselves on their patriotism, crossed the Channel and hurried to Paris to pay their respects to the First Consul. Among them were Mr. Fox, Lord Holland, and Mr. afterwards Lord Grey. Mr. Fox was received by Bonaparte with extraordinary cordiality—not in his character of an Englishman, a name notoriously distasteful to the ruler of France, but as the most prominent opponent of Mr. Pitt, who enjoyed the distinction of being the *bête noir* of the French government.

The leader of opposition, during his stay in Paris, permitted himself to be drawn into conversations with the First Consul, in which the latter attacked Mr. Pitt with equal virulence and folly. His crime existed in that

watchfulness over the interests of England, which had detected and thwarted many cherished schemes of aggrandisement at her expense. Prejudice was unfortunately a characteristic of Bonaparte, in whom the semi-divine attributes of the hero were largely blended with the failings of very ordinary humanity. After a course of flattering attention, the First Consul made his visitor the recipient of the most vindictive abuse of his rival, who—the great man subsequently acknowledged—had he visited France at this time, would have been assassinated.*

While apparently intent upon nothing so much as making Mr. Fox and his friends satisfied with his friendly intentions towards their country, his intense love of peace, and strict regard for treaties, Bonaparte was covertly pursuing a policy glaringly hostile to English interests; he was preparing for a war that should be supported by increased resources, and was either evading or abusing such articles of the recent treaties, as were most in the way of his cherished scheme of universal domination.

Among those at home who watched his suspicious manœuvres with the most anxious attention, were the Grenvilles. Neither of them was in the slightest degree deceived by his professions, they knew that such a man in such a position must proceed in the way he had advanced; and as little expected the sun to stand still, as the immense military power at his disposal. The armament he dispatched to San Domingo in little more than a couple of months after the signing of the preliminaries—his causing himself to be elected President of the Cisalpine Republic a

* Las Cases.

month or so later; his taking from Spain, about the same time, one of her colonies—Louisiana, and appropriating in Italy, Parma and the island of Elba, were actions not to be mistaken by such far-sighted observers. They, therefore, not only regarded the peace with distrust, but expressed their opinion of its unsatisfactory provisions with indignation.

Pitt at first seemed to look upon the arrangement with favour; but his late colleagues, Lord Grenville and Mr. Wyndham, spoke forcibly in parliament as to the insecurity of its pledges, and the dishonour of its concessions. Fox and his party, apparently perfectly satisfied with the treaty, supported the Ministry by whom it had been accepted; and for some months the Grenvilles, whenever they ventured upon opposition, voted in a minority. The speeches of Lord Grenville on this subject, were masterly expositions of the case, and although apparently inoperative when delivered, there is little doubt that they gradually effected the change of public opinion respecting the entire negotiation, which shortly followed. Fox spoke little, though always voting with the administration; but the other popular orators, Sheridan, Grey, and Whitbread, rivalled each other in lauding Bonaparte, and abusing the late Ministry, for not having accepted the proposals for peace offered in his letter to the King.

In these debates were passed the month of January and February; the conviction growing stronger and spreading wider, that the recent settlement would have but a short duration.

In the letter from Lord Grenville, in which he mentions the publication of one of his speeches in the House of Lords, we meet with something like confirmation of the opinion now gaining ground, that Addington was a mere creature of Pitt. The scene in the House of Commons, alludes to a violent attack by Mr. Tierney on the late minister, which his successor did not notice in a manner that satisfied his absent friend; indeed, Pitt wrote a letter on the 10th of February, from Walmer Castle, saying, "I think I have much to wonder at and complain of," and averring that "there may be attacks under which, from the mode of their being received rather than of their being made, it may be impossible to acquiesce." Mr. Addington's reply has not been preserved, but it is plain from another communication from his friend, of the 12th, that this also was not considered satisfactory.

Mr. Pitt hurried to town and instituted inquiries, which appear partly to have removed an uneasy impression from his mind, for on the 17th he wrote again somewhat more cordially; but still as though but half relieved from "sensations which were most painful to me, and disagreeable reflections."* There seems a meaning in these expressions beyond what is on the surface—as if a suspicion had been entertained that the pupil thought himself sufficiently settled in his position, to be able to dispense with his master, and had been made to understand that acting on such an idea might be attended with awkward consequences. Of the negotiation mentioned at the commencement of Mr. Grenville's letter, there

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. I., p. 191.

is no trace in Lord Sidmouth's biography; but such may have shared the fate of other traces which have been given to the flames. The changes noticed at the conclusion, refer to the office of Speaker, which fell to the Honourable Charles Abbot, at this time Secretary for Ireland, vice Sir John Mitford, who had become Lord Chancellor of Ireland.

Among the conditions of the negotiation recently concluded, was the surrender of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Island of Malta;* both recent acquisitions. The sinister proceedings of the French government, and the increasing dissatisfaction in England with the abandonment of such advantages without the slightest equivalent, suggested to our Ministers, the propriety of a little caution. They therefore sent orders to delay the evacuation of either place. The 1st of January was the date fixed for the surrender of the Cape to the Dutch, in accordance with the treaty. On the previous evening, a vessel arrived with fresh instruction; by this time half the English troops had embarked on their return to England, only fifty men remained in Cape Town, the rest were at a distance of eight miles, and the Dutch garrison ready to take their place, were at least fifteen hundred strong. In this critical position, how the British commanders, General Dundas and Sir Roger Curtis, contrived to preserve this valuable dependency to the British crown, will now be related by an eye-witness; one of the distinguished officers who took part in that enterprise.

* The French Government boasted of the advantages they had obtained by the treaty, in an article in the *Mercure de France*.

COLONEL L. MOORE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Castle of Cape Town, Jan. 1802.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

Fearing the possibility of your not being in town when my Lord Temple receives my letters, which accompany this, I wish to give your Lordship the earliest intimation of an event, the most extraordinary, perhaps, the annals of history furnish. About noon of that day, 31st December, in the afternoon of which the Dutch troops were to take possession of the castle, forts, block-houses, &c, arrived the 'Imogene' corvette from England, bringing orders that should we still be in possession of the Cape, it was not to be given up until further advices reached us from Europe. One company alone, occupied the important post of the castle and fort; the remaining two or three hundred British were scattered in various places. The admiral and general waited upon the Dutch commissary and governor residing in the castle, made known to them (of course in a round about way,) the contents of their dispatches received, and continued so conversing, until detachment after detachment (in consequence of a secret order already some time sent to the different men-of-war) arriving in the castle from a-board the Indiamen, perfectly secured it. The evening, early in it, completed its force to near 1000, to the no small wonderful astonishment of the Mynheers; their soldiers parading at the moment we came on shore, in order to point out and tell off their guards, field-pieces ready to fire on the joyful occasion of their flag again expecting to make its appearance at all points the following morning. The reunion of our forces (about equal in number to our at present friends), not exceeding, I understand, really *at most* above 1400, in possession of all strongholds. Mutual agreement of the heads of each side, made known by proclamation, that that friendship and harmony already so well established between us, was to continue until further advices were received from England.

And thus, my Lord, are we situated. Our officers and soldiers, the greater part in the castle, front the Dutch in their great barracks, two or three hundred yards distant, each extremely polite and civil, but equally suspicious, and on the *qui vive* one against the other. However disagreeable may feel two armed forces of different nations so close, I yet sincerely hope that we shall remain so, in preference to the taking place of a report of yesterday, which said the Dutch were to go to camp about eight miles distant, with artillery, &c., &c. Such a step may occasion the spilling uselessly (for of our remaining masters, if ordered to do so, I have not the smallest fear on that score, notwithstanding our number of unbled, beardless boys,) of a vast deal of blood, independent of all internal supplies being cut off from us, should hostilities again commence; for most decidedly are the inhabitants of the country equally our enemies, as well as of the far greater majority of those of the town. If ever the boors should muster courage, it would be in the case of such an event, supposing the possibility of our giving them time to join their countrymen in any considerable number. The business of the fleet would only be a few hours, and then about a thousand seamen and marines could be landed, to strike the blow instant and decided. This morning, report says, the encampment does not take place; if so, the Dutch can make no resistance without risk. They can be torn to atoms by bombs, shell, &c.; and when they attempt to show themselves, I trust the English bayonet will give them a lesson they have no idea of being taught. With grateful and affectionate remembrance to Lady Buckingham,

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Yours ever and sincerely obliged,

L. Moore.

From the commencement of the next communication, it appears that the administration had sought strength by means

of a coalition with some of the Whig leaders. They, however, held aloof, and the conversation which the same writer refers to in his subsequent letter, shows that Pitt was drawing from his friends in the government, to those in the opposition: another proof of the weakness of the former. A few days afterwards occurred the "curious scene" alluded to by Lord Grenville.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jan. 30, 1802.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Lord Glastonbury assured me last night that he knew that the negotiation with Grey and Lord Moira was over; that Grey had stipulated absolutely for a repeal of the Treason and Sedition Laws, which had been refused.

The news of the morning is that Sir W. Pulteney is dead.

The northern speech will be out by the middle of next week at farthest; and if it is read, will stick sorely in the sides of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. I hear it reported that Lord Westmoreland is troubled by this French expedition,* and therefore that he is very troublesome to his colleagues; the latter part at least is probable enough.

To these old woman rumours, I must add that I was told to-day of a slight suspicion that the King is not so well, and not so obedient as he has hitherto been since his last illness; and it is added that, having been very fond of having John Willis about him, he now refuses to see him. I must say I thought him remarkably well on the birth-day. These are the vague rumours of to-day, and perhaps are all mere dreams.

God bless you, dearest brother,

* A powerful fleet despatched to St. Domingo.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Feb. 27, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

I had a long conversation with Mr. Pitt, two days ago, who came and stayed an hour with me. I was glad to find that upon all the latter events, such as the possession of Italy and Louisiana, and the undisguised ambition and rapacity of France, he spoke in a tone full as eager as that in which I addressed him; and, although his opinions do not go to the length of mine as to the proper remedy; although he thinks war is not advisable before there shall be a reasonable hope of our being assisted upon the continent, yet I think I see on his part so much nearer an approach to our sense of danger, and so much readiness in him to seek discussion with all of us, that I cannot help wishing to forward that communication; and I much regret that William is not more at hand to improve that opportunity; although I do not look to any *quite* immediate effect from it. The tone and temper of the public mind is more alive than it has been to the storm which threatens us, and is not more favourable to, or confident in the skill of our new pilots. Pray come, and come well, my dearest brother.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, Feb. 9, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

I am come to town to publish my speech, as Parson Adams did with his sermons; and to-morrow Fisher will send you, under Hammond's cover, my works at large, in 110 pages. I reserve a large paper copy to be bound with a large paper of the second edition of Sulpicius, and to occupy its place in the new library; and having thus established my fame to all posterity, I shall go back again on Thursday to plant my laurels, not in metaphor, but in humble fact.

I find more impression made here by the accession of Italy to Bonaparte's titles, than I expected. Why people should be surprised that he chooses to exert the power they have given him, I know not, or why, when a tiger is let loose upon the world, they should complain that he eats them. But so it is.

You will have seen in the papers, the account of the curious scene of yesterday in the House of Commons. I find in those of Pitt's friends, whom I have seen to-day, a great disposition to be very sore and very angry. In the meantime, he is at Walmer with Lord Carrington, arranging, as I believe, Addington's budget, and peace establishment. Tierney's speech must of course bring him back for the next finance day in the House of Commons.

You know, of course, of Mitford, Chancellor; and Abbot, Speaker; no successor to the latter is named; but it is said that Yorke has refused.

Pray let me know when you look this way.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

The pending negotiations are skilfully anatomised in the following remarks, which also convey an accurate picture of the state of public feeling in England, with reference to the promised peace, under a mistaken idea that it would be perfectly satisfactory in every point of view. The writer was thoroughly aware of the character and objects of Bonaparte, and consequently accepted his pacific demonstrations for what they were worth. His opinion expressed in a subsequent letter, that the treaty would come "whenever Bonaparte thinks that our ministers will really give no more;" which is repeated by Lord Grenville in his letter of the 7th of March, proved perfectly correct.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Feb. 10, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

The assumption of Italy to France pending our treaty, the cession of Louisiana, and the sailing of twenty-eight sail of the French fleet, are matters which must weigh upon the public mind; but it is mortifying to observe, that although everybody assents to our view of these dangers, the temper and spirit of the country is so low, that they are ready to crouch for peace in the same abject tone at the feet of Bonaparte. You see he has hurried on his possession of his new kingdom in order to force us to sign with him as King of Italy as well as of France, and at the same moment he furnishes us with a rare proof of his attention to treaties, for if you read the treaty of Lunéville, you will there find that Austria and France mutually guarantee the independence of the Cisalpine Republic, in pursuance of which he makes himself their first magistrate, and announces to them in his speech, that he means to keep there a great army, to defend them *against* their powerful neighbour, that is to say *against* the house of Austria. Lord Fitzwilliam is furious upon this subject, so is Lord Carlisle, so is Wyndham and Elliot, &c., but still William and I agree that the public and the parliament will not yet hear even these unanswerable objections. Our friends are, however, so feverish, that I don't know whether they will be restrained.

I have not seen Lord Carrington, he is gone down with Pitt to look at Sandford Castle, which Pitt is to lend to him as a bathing villa. Wickham goes to Ireland.

God bless you.

We have been assured that the treaty of Amiens was so popular, that no one but Lord Grenville in one house

and Mr. Wyndham in the other, ventured to breathe a word against it. Mr. Wyndham also we are told by the same writer, on no better authority, however, than a conversational anecdote, acknowledged a few years later, a very decided change of opinion respecting it.* "Lord Fitzwilliam is furious on this subject," we now learn from a trustworthy source; "so is Lord Carlisle, so is Wyndham and Elliott, &c." Surely, this disposes of the first statement—the second has no better foundation; but whether true or not, does not render a notoriously disgraceful arrangement otherwise than what Lord Grenville and his friends proved it to be.

A great deal of pains has been taken to show when Mr. Pitt "adopted that view of public affairs which alienated him from the policy and party of his friend and successor;"† which means in less euphuistic phrase, when that distinguished statesman first thought proper to disclaim a policy which was not what he had confided to the charge of his agent and representative. Labour equally great has been displayed in tracing out the particular individual who seduced Mr. Pitt into this lamentable alienation. The first evidence is dated about the end of October of this year, when the retired minister visited Bath; and Lord Grenville's carriage having been seen at the door of Mr. Pitt's town residence early in April, 1803, and Mr. Pitt having dated a decidedly plain-spoken letter from Lord Grenville's seat at the end of December, 1802, there could be no doubt as to the offender. The reader, however, will be good enough to bear in mind, the ties which con-

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 52. † Ibid, p. 85.

nected these eminent men, and Lord Grenville's exalted character and great political experience. They naturally consulted together at this critical period; but although it appears that his Lordship from time to time submitted his views to his friend, it is equally clear that the latter did not embrace them. Subsequent events forced a conviction of the soundness of Lord Grenville's opinions upon Mr. Pitt; but we think we are justified in stating from evidence that will presently be brought forward, that if any person did alienate Mr. Pitt from the policy and party of Mr. Addington, that person was—"his friend and successor."

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, March 2, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

When I last wrote to you, the fever of my mind, in dwelling upon the picture of dismay which surrounds us all, had looked a little to the chance of working upon the impression which Pitt had shown as with respect to the gigantic strides of the power of France, and I did actually write to William to urge him as much as I could to try his influence in conversation with Mr. Pitt, and to endeavour to persuade him upon these new dangers to say a word or two in parliament as to the necessity of our being prepared to meet, by new exertions, the new dangers which might threaten us from the increased power of France. I felt pretty confident of the great public advantage which might arise from this, and of the practicability of this being obtained from Pitt, if William would come and work upon it; but his answer announces such an extreme disinclination to do or say anything to anybody more than is called for by positive duty, that I have

abandoned my project, and have resigned myself again to all the helplessness of passive despondency.

It is rumoured to-day that our military establishments will be voted to-morrow for a year instead of being for two months, as was first announced; this looks like an intimation of protracted, and perhaps of unpromising negotiation at Amiens. I shall not be surprised if the French send Napper Tandy from Bordeaux to Amiens; to communicate with his old Irish friend there. It is true that the High Prince of Orange undergoes the indignity of being sent by Prussia to Paris, to prostrate himself at the feet of the Grand Consul, who threatens to make the Nassau estates in Germany a means of compensation for the left bank of the Rhine! Will our Ministers concur in this, or will they affect to complain of it, and say it discharges us from all obligation to assist him? I suppose the latter.

God bless you, dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 5, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

Since I last wrote to you, I have heard from Lord G. that he has taken occasion, in a letter to Pitt about Lord Wellesley, to invite Pitt to Dropmore, and to a *prospective* consideration and conversation on the public state of things. I hope they will meet, because I think in Pitt's present state of mind their meeting would be useful. In addition to the remarks which had been made upon the embarrassed appearance of government on Elliot's motion, the report was yesterday confirmed of seven sail having suddenly gone from Torbay; and stocks have consequently fallen to-day 1½, as Coutts informed me. Our Ministers tremble at this little semblance of vigour that they have adopted, least it should produce war. I think on the contrary, that the treaty will come whenever Bonaparte thinks that our Ministers will really give no more.

Lord Camden having heard that your illness delayed your return to town, expressed a wish to talk to me about your clerk Woodward, and about a plan for more prompt payments on the part of the clerks. He said he would send me some papers on this matter; since that time, I find by Fremantle that the business of Woodward is more serious than Lord Camden seemed to imagine, and that you are fully informed of the whole matter, and therefore when Lord Camden sends to me, I will refer him upon the subject to your arrival in London.

The general regret for the Duke of Bedford is very great, and is much increased by the uncommon fortitude and magnanimity which he displayed in the last two or three days of his life. Kerr says that it exceeds what he has ever seen in all his long practice. He has left everything to Lord John in the general; but he has directed Lord William's* debts to be paid, and after that, the further sum of £35,000 to him; to Charles Fox, £5000; to Lord Preston £5000 directly, and the continuance of the annuity of £2000 to Lady Maynard, which he had given her ever since she lived with him. Lord Mountrath is dead, and has left £6000 per annum, English estate, to Lord Bradford. Lord Bateman is dead, but his will is not known.

God bless you, dearest brother.

I hope you will tell me that you mend enough to think soon of changing Stowe for Pall Mall.

We have now an opportunity of hearing what Lord Grenville desired to communicate to Mr. Pitt. The subject of the proposed conference must have been one of profound interest to both, without either having hostile

* Lord John and Lord William Russell, brothers to the deceased duke. The latter was murdered by his valet.

designs towards the government—the real position of which is indicated in his Lordship's communication. The plot, however, was thickening, but it was an Addington and not a Grenville one. The new Minister strove to make the most of his position; his son had been made Clerk of the Pells; his brother, Mr. Hiley Addington, one of the Secretaries of the Treasury; his brother-in-law, Charles Bragge, subsequently known as Bragge Bathurst, Treasurer of the Navy, and he was striving to make the administration as nearly as possible a family party, by the introduction of relatives, or friends on whom he could equally depend. In the meantime, he cast an anxious eye over the ranks of opposition, with the hope of detaching some portion, to assist him in retaining his elevation upon a certain contingency, which Mr. Pitt's unfortunate accessibility to the influence of "inferior minds," seems to have already led him to anticipate.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, March 7, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

Sheridan's intended attack upon Wellesley,* not only afforded me an occasion, but, in fact, imposed upon me the necessity of writing to Pitt, to consult him upon the subject. In doing so, I adverted to the late events, and expressed a desire of discussing with him prospectively, the present situation and circumstances of the country, and I concluded with an invitation here; all which he has accepted in very cordial terms; and I expect him to-morrow or Tuesday. Our conversation will, of course, lead into a very large field of discussion; but, with

* Marquis Wellesley.

respect to the circumstances of the moment, it seems clear to me that the Ministers themselves are at length arrived at the point where they are more afraid of conceding than of resisting; and I quite agree with you, that Bonaparte had no object but to drive them to that point, whatever it may be, and that he will now close with whatever he has got in addition to the preliminaries.

As to speeches in parliament, Elliot's situation, and even Wyndham's, is quite different from mine. I feel as confident as I can be of any point in which I differ from you and Tom, that the line I have pursued, has been the best even for the effect which you thought I might produce, but of which your expectations seem to me to be much too sanguine.

The Duke of Bedford's death is, I think, a piece of singular good luck for the Ministers, as it removes a considerable impediment which stood in the way of those coalitions and junctions to which I am convinced Addington is still looking, as the best hope of maintaining himself in his situation. In the meantime, is it not curious to see his friend Tierney attacking his friend W. Dundas, and the latter excusing himself, because he was only a short time a member of the last Board of Control?

Ever most affectionately,

G.

MR. J. TALBOT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, March 8, 1802.

My Lord,

I have had no opportunity of picking up any news to-day; but I find that the surmise which I communicated to your Lordship, in my last letter, has since become very general from other circumstances. Whether the demonstration of vigorous measures is merely with a view to accelerate the conclusion of the definitive treaty, or to be prepared to recommence hostilities, is not for me to determine. One opinion, however, I find almost universal, namely, that should the peace be definitively made, it

could not be of long duration. The mercantile world is under great alarm, and commerce nearly at a stand. It is said, that the restoration of the Stadtholder has been demanded as a sort of counterpoise to Bonaparte's presidency of the Italian Republic. I read a letter yesterday from Paris, the description there given of the state of that place is by no means inviting; and although the person is under apparent restraint, he concludes by saying that he shall return in the course of two months, if he can have patience to remain there so long, much better satisfied with England than ever. I have also heard of some persons of small landed properties in this country, who have already disposed of them, vested part of the purchase money in the funds, so as to produce an income in England equal to their former one, and the remainder in lands in France, which have been bought at ten and a half years purchase, upon which they reside. This plan they represent to have answered so well, as to have induced several of their friends in similar circumstances to follow their example.

By a letter which I have lately received from Ireland, I am informed, that your Lordship has some claim upon Sir Wm. G. Newcommon in return for your support of him in the county of Longford. If this be the case, and that I can do it without indiscretion, I would beg leave to solicit your Lordship's interference with him for his interest in the county Dublin in favour of my brother.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest truth,
Your Lordship's most obedient
And most faithful, humble servant,
J. TALBOT.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 12, 1802.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Putting all circumstances together, there seems little doubt that

this question of peace or war will be brought to its point in the course of a few days; and I look therefore to being in town about the end of next week. Indeed, if it were not for this circumstance, I think I cannot delay much longer taking some notice of the strange and unexampled situation in which Lord Hobart's explanation for the newspapers has placed both Wellesley's character and Lord Clive's.

Pitt brought me down the papers on the subject, and I have the satisfaction of finding both that they are, and that he thinks them, such as Wellesley's friends ought to be anxious to bring forward into public examination and discussion. There never was, I think, a clearer case, nor can anything be stated with more perspicuity and ability than it is by him. No man, I think, who was not his enemy, could after reading the papers have professed to doubt on the subject.

Yours most affectionately,

G.

I have said nothing here of Pitt's language on general subjects, because I trust that we shall meet in town. It is more conformable to our opinions than I had expected, but on some points we still differ widely.

We here learn that, on the 12th of March, Mr. Pitt was found more conformable to the opinions of Lord Grenville than he had expected; "but, on some points," adds the candid writer, "we still differ very widely." The policy of the opposition is explained in the next note. The provisions of the treaty of peace with France were now becoming more generally known, and, as a natural consequence, created great dissatisfaction. The Grenvilles took the lead in exposing their true character, both in and out of parliament; and the result on the mind of the

public showed a feeling on the subject very different to the pacific unanimity described by the Dean of Norwich.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, April 27, 1802.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Although I think it very likely that this letter may not find you still at Gosfield, I write to mention to you, that the peace is not to be proclaimed till Thursday, and that I am this day informed by message from Lord Hawkesbury, in answer to an inquiry I made, that it is *not yet determined* whether the treaty is to be laid before the two Houses to-morrow or Thursday. We understand, that hitherto they persist in the resolution of not moving anything upon it, but leaving the attack to us. If they continue in the same mind two days longer, of which, as you see, there cannot be much certainty, we have thought that the best thing we can do, is to begin by a motion for fixing a day to take the treaty into consideration; and it is accordingly settled, that we should give notice of such a motion in the two Houses, the day the treaty is laid before us. This will let us into a general discussion of the merits and glories of the treaty, without precluding us from bringing forward the separate points distinctly, by motions for papers, &c.

I still think they will be better advised, and will cut our career short, by a general address of approbation. If they do not, they leave the management of the war entirely in our hands. If they bring the treaties down to-morrow, I shall, I think, make this general motion on Friday, otherwise it can hardly be done till Monday.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, April 30, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

We opened our battery yesterday in both Houses, by giving notice of moving next Monday in the House of Commons, and next Tuesday in the House of Lords, to fix a day for the consideration of the treaty. We shall, of course, then propose a distant day—probably the Thursday and Friday fortnight (after those days, I mean)—and give notice that we shall, in the interval, propose to the house to procure such information as will, in our opinion, be necessary to enable them to form a judgment of the whole, by knowing distinctly what the parts really are.

By this course, we shall be able to open the case in all its bearings on Monday and Tuesday next, so as to put the public in possession, as distinctly as possible, of all our different grounds of objection; and we shall be able by the distinct motions for papers, which we mean to distribute amongst ourselves, (so that the whole burthen of moving may not lay upon Wyndham and me,) to press those points which seem to be the most important.

The ground will then be open for two modes of proceeding when the day of consideration arrives. We may, if we find the patience of parliament and the public not entirely exhausted, propose distinct resolutions of facts as to the effect of the treaty, so worded as to convey a sort of censure on the most prominent concessions in it, and then proceed to the concluding motion; or we may take the concluding motion at once. That motion should, according to my present idea, be an address to the King, entirely prospective, professing to abstain from all censure of the past, but expressing a decided opinion of the necessity,—

1. Of his resisting all further encroachment whatever.

2. Of his maintaining every part of the empire in a state of

the most complete defence and preparation for war, for which purpose we are willing to concur, &c.

And lastly, of his obtaining satisfactory explanations (*previous to making the restitutions stipulated by the definitive treaty,*) on those points of direct and essential British interest which, having been provided for in former treaties, are left wholly unsettled by the present treaty; and are likely, if not so arranged, to lead immediately to a renewal of the war.

You see that government have already begun to lay ground for resisting our course of distinct examination; but it is impossible for them in the state in which they have now placed the business, to prevent our following that course, and obliging them to come out of their generalities, and to enter into particulars. Lord Auckland's motion, whatever it is to be, is not concerted with them, but is dictated by a desire of putting himself forward in the eyes of the public, and reminding the country how great a negotiator he is: it will embarrass them considerably. Pelham tried yesterday, in a very confused way, to tell him that he had better make his speech as a part of the general discussion on Tuesday, but he positively refused; and I rather collect from his speech, that he is not to vote, or at least not to speak, on the general question.

There was a general report that Pelham had quarrelled with them, and was to resign; but you see he has swallowed the pill.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, May 6.

My dearest Brother,

With respect to our political discussions, you see that they are alive and active; great impression is already made upon the

public mind, and, as the King's ministers cannot fail to observe how much this impression is increased by every day's debate, one cannot wonder at the extraordinary means by which they endeavour at all events to stop it. We were obliged to fight them yesterday upon the point of order; and as we obliged the Speaker then to give way, I trust that he will not be hereafter so over-forward in the interruptions which are suggested to him by Addington. Our idea here is to move an address on the final day, acknowledging the King's prerogative to make peace or war, and expressing our determination to assist him to the utmost in maintaining the engagements which he has contracted. To this may be added some expressions of alarm at the increasing power of France, and offers of concurrence with His Majesty, whenever he shall seize the opportunity of renewing the ancient and established system of this country—then of adverting with earnest attention to the state and the proceedings of the neighbouring powers of Europe; then recommending to his Majesty's jealous care to provide against the smallest encroachment on our maritime or colonial rights and possessions, and urging the necessity of resisting any ulterior aggression upon them; and concluding with humbly advising his Majesty to provide by amicable negotiations for such points as, being now left unsettled, may be capable of disturbing those blessings of peace which his Majesty's benevolent care had made so many sacrifices to obtain. This sort of address is what seems now to be likely to be palatable to the greatest part of our friends; not that I think our number in the House of Commons will much increase, though, in the House of Lords, I hear you will divide above twenty. I hope nothing will prevent your coming on Monday to talk these matters over; but, at all events, let me have a line by return of post to tell me how you are. I return your memorial and interception which are very curious. Pigott's neglect of the Maltese in the capitulation is unpardonable, and the statement of the hatred of the order, by the inhabitants, shews a certainty of confusion which

will give France the occasion of stepping across from Toulon, and settling by taking French possession of the island. Lord T. moves for the papers on this to-day, and I am going down to hear him.

God bless you, dearest brother.

A general election followed the dissolution of parliament by proclamation, towards the close of the month of June, that occasioned an animated struggle of parties and of principles, during which the question of the recent treaty and all its unsatisfactory provisions, was fully discussed. As a natural result, the Ministry began to lose ground, and before the meeting of the new parliament, it is clear that Pitt, though occasionally corresponding with their leader, was less inclined to afford them his countenance. He associated more with his old colleagues, and they looked forward with confidence to their reunion with him at no very distant date. Lord Castlereagh's appointment to the Board of Control was dated the 6th of July.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, June 28, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

Having been some days absent from London, and not having returned till Saturday night, it became impossible for me to write to you before the post of this day. With respect, however, to Wyndham, I can venture to pronounce that, although he has good hopes, he is very far from being sure of his election, and there is not the smallest chance of his antagonist declining the contest. I heard from Wyndham, indeed, a few hours ago, and in that letter he describes Smith as using every exertion *per fas*

ac nefas, cooping up voters in barns and houses, where they are to be kept drunk till the day of poll; and, in short, trying all the means of mischief that his fertile talents can supply in the mysteries of electioneering. Under these circumstances, therefore, I presume that you will not hesitate to name Wyndham for St. Mawes, as I presume that you will not be able to defer that election till the close of the poll at Norwich; and I have accordingly written to Wyndham to say that I understood you proposed to have him nominated as a candidate for that place. The general language is, that no writs will be partially delivered or sold, but that they will all be regularly and virtuously transmitted on Wednesday next.

I hear no news except that Lord Castlereagh is now talked of for the Board of Control. I have reason to think that Dundas has not yet finally determined whether or no to begin the new parliament in the House of Peers.

God bless you, dearest brother.

Do not forget a line to Charles St. by return of post.

The King's health continued in a very precarious state; he became worse and more liable to sudden seizures of an alarming nature, brought on, there is no doubt, by intense excitement from political causes. He would devote himself to business that ought to have been left to his Ministers; and entered into every important measure that he sanctioned, with an intense interest that was very dangerous to a mind so constituted. The government tried to conceal the King's state, and to fancy themselves secure in their position. Lord Castlereagh was brought into the cabinet in October; and the Minister was striving to render himself popular with Sheridan, Lord Moira, Tierney, and a few other

liberal members, qualified to afford him the assistance of which he stood in need.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sept. 22.

Since I wrote to you, I have heard more from Weymouth, and the particulars of the attack some time ago, which was much more alarming than was suspected. He* was seized with an attack which he called rheumatism, and which deprived him of the power of moving from his chair for upwards of three hours, during which time he was incapable of helping himself in any way whatever, and spoke but very little. The person who told it me, and who was one of the very few witnesses of it, spoke of it as the most alarming thing that could be conceived. However, he recovered the next day; and though it was followed for some days by a considerable increase of irritation, he is now, by all accounts, quite re-established, and in point of health and composure, as well as when he went to Weymouth. The Royal Family return about the 8th, but not to Windsor, as the alterations will not be finished by that time. They go till then to Kew; and I imagine it will take a month longer. My private opinion is, that this is a manœuvre to settle him at Kew for some little time; for I think by exertion, the apartments might have been completed. Everybody concurs in opinion, that the complaint of the eyes does not mend.

There are most serious difficulties in Ireland; the Board of Revenue and the Lord-Lieutenant at daggers drawn. Long sets off on Thursday; but either Lord Hardwicke or Foster must be sacrificed, as, by all accounts, it cannot go on so. Addington is still unwell, and his son (the Clerk of the Pells,) has been attacked with the most serious of all calamities, madness; he has had two seizures, and I am not sure whether he is yet out of the second.

* The King.

I had a letter from Lord Grenville, thanking me for my offer of being of use to him, and telling me he had appointed a Mr. Fisher (Clerk of the Debentures,) to succeed Jennings. He could not have named a better man, I believe. He wishes me to suggest anything I may know, which might be useful for the improvement of the office. I really believe it could not have been better conducted than under Jennings; and I have no doubt Fisher will continue the same system. If, however, anything occurs at any time which I think important for him to know, I will certainly communicate it. Pray don't take notice to any person of the former part of this note, as it was told me in confidence. If I hear anything further, I will let you know.

Ever with great respect and attachment,

W. H. F.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Oct. 18, 1802.

You are a very good and a very generous brother. The shape in which you have again assisted William's difficulties, cannot but be infinitely more gratifying to him than the prettiest house in London would have been; and to gratify him will, I know, be no little gratification to you.

He is probably at this moment at Walmer, talking over with Pitt the very critical state of things, which in the present moment most certainly demands great talents, vigour, and promptitude.

By the little that I hear in this deserted town, I should imagine that our Ministers have really begun to take some alarm at the increasing power of France; and the current report of the day, which speaks of five line-of-battle ships going with troops immediately to Malta, seems to confirm the idea of government intending to say something upon the French partition of Europe;

but what they will say, I do not much guess, nor do I know what opinion to entertain, other than that which I have with you;—an opinion that, without other heads to govern the country, every new embarrassment will probably be a new source of additional disgrace. After Bonaparte's pledging himself to this Swiss interference by his public proclamation, I do not see how he can recede, without a greater appearance of concession than he has been accustomed to make; and the order of the day with him, does not seem to be that of compromise and conciliation. If Malta only is in question, and if we refuse to evacuate it only because the Grand Master is not chosen, the Neapolitan garrison not arrived, and the Russian guarantee not agreed to at Petersburgh, he will procure us facilities upon those three points, by sending Ruspoli and the Lazaronis immediately, and by prevailing upon his friend Alexander to be partner with him in the possession of that island. If Switzerland is the question, the utmost that we can hope is, that he will give the poor Swiss such a government as we shall confess we are satisfied with. In short, what we shall do, I know not; but we shall not make war, and we shall only vapour as to what we would have done, if Bonaparte had done something else.

It is barely possible to be sure that the fear of Pitt may be more present to Addington at this moment, than the fear of the Great Consul; but, depend upon it, he has no other courage than in the comparison of those two apprehensions, by both of which he is alternately, and sometimes jointly, so beset, as to have ample occasion for keeping all his little wits about him.

I go to Audley End on Friday.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 20th Oct., 1802.

My dearest Brother,

The language of London still sounds like the expectation of

war, and, if the 'Sun' is not false to its motto, the language of the government is still more decisive than that of Mr. Perry, and of the 'Morning Post.' I am still in the dark, not having heard from the coast, and not having seen any good sources of intelligence in London; but the more I speculate upon existing circumstances, the more I incline to think that these latter movements of Ministers, belong only to their apprehension that if they continued to doze on in the same state of uninterrupted repose, it was utterly impossible that Pitt could continue to rock their cradle and lull them to their repose. With him it is necessary for them to keep some terms; and I consider this demonstration as produced only by their desire to keep some credit with him; but whatever be their real motives, I cannot expect from them such a conduct as might sustain the fame and credit of this country in the wreck of kingdoms and empires which are tottering all around us.

I do not find that Bonaparte is expected to force himself at this moment into the Presidency of the Batavian Republic; but as the French troops still continue to make him the real master of that country, I shall rather expect him to ask credit for his moderation in forbearing from the show of empire there; and we shall probably see him satisfying himself by governing the Dutch government rather than by substituting himself in the room of them. Woronzow is expected here about the second week of November; if he has really worked the change which is so desirable at St. Petersburgh, we might again see daylight. But, after all, what good can arise while we are dieted down with this water-gruel government?

Mr. Pitt wrote a letter to Mr. Addington from Bath, on the 10th of November, advising a violation of those articles of the treaty of Amiens, by which our principal conquests were to be restored—the very points which had called forth Lord Grenville's opposition. The opinions

also, he expresses in the following sentence, are identical with those of Lord Grenville. "I am by no means sure that we shall not sufficiently consult our real security, preserving at the same time the advantages of peace, by contenting ourselves with a state of very increased and constant preparation, both naval and military, and by endeavouring in the meantime to lay the foundation of a defensive system in Europe."*

While reading Lord Grenville's remarks on his friend's state of mind, the passages in italics again suggest the idea of Pitt's secret engagement with Addington, to which Lord Grenville was not a party. It would have been easy to have brought forward evidence if it existed, to refute such an idea; but this has been rendered impossible by the person most interested in its production. The reader, however, will learn what was Lord Grenville's opinion of the position that ought to be secured to Mr. Pitt, and of the character of the existing government. The letters that follow describe the proceedings against Mr. Addington, which his biographer and son-in-law has designated as "those of a small but talented party, privately combined to undermine him."

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Walmer, Oct. 20, 1802.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I have been here for these last two days engaged in the most anxious discussions with my host, whom I find on the whole, better than I had hoped, though certainly still in some degree an invalid. I learn, not so much indeed from his communications,

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 87.

open as they have been, as from the public steps which are announced that we are in all human probability on the very brink of unavoidable war. To you this can be matter of no surprise, nor even of very deep regret, since it seemed manifest to us from the beginning, that this peace, wretched as the terms were, could not be preserved without a continual series of fresh concessions, and a state of humiliation and submission much worse than any risk of war; nor really do I think that Pitt's mind (though he does not allow his opinions to be quoted till he shall himself determine in what shape to declare them) is now on any material point of that question, essentially different from ours.

His line, *hampered as he must I presume feel himself, by what has already past,* cannot but be difficult, and can hardly, as I should guess, be previously decided on till almost the very moment in which he is to act. It is a great satisfaction to us to recollect that *our line is clear,* and that we have in fact nothing more to do than to persist in the conduct we have already held. The object which we must all wish for the sake of the country, must undoubtedly be that, if we are to have a war, the direction of that and the government of the country should be placed in his hands, as the only person who unites the abilities necessary for that purpose, with that public opinion and confidence which are certainly not less necessary in such a state. How this effect is to be produced I hardly can satisfy myself. With respect to the present ministers, I should think that the general opinion, which undoubtedly prevails of their incapacity, even for the ordinary business of the country, much more for the direction of such a struggle, would manifest itself in a manner not to be resisted, when once people see the effects of the wretched system they have pursued. This impression it is, I think, on every account our duty to endeavour to increase, and it surely cannot be very difficult to satisfy the world that their war no less than their peace, their renewing without preparation at home, and without consent abroad,

and under all the disadvantages which their peace has brought upon us, a struggle from which only six months ago they retreated with disgrace, does afford such a manifest proof of incapacity, as would make it little less than madness to trust our whole existence to their guidance.

The King's speech is to be the 22nd. I hope you will be up in town a day or two before. Possibly you could take Dropmore for an inn in your way, and I would in that case arrange my motions accordingly.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Brighton, Oct. 26, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

The hint you gave me, having called my attention to the circumstance, I believe I might say the same thing in return. I have made an arrangement (which for particular reasons that I will explain to you, I cannot well alter,) to be in town on the 18th; and if that suits you, Lady Grenville and I will dine with you on that day in Pall Mall. I am more and more convinced, that whatever the *remplacement* may be, this wretched patchwork must tumble to pieces, and I do not envy the architect that is to work upon it.

Hiley* seems not a little embarrassed to tell us whether the Swiss have yielded or not; and whether, if they have, Lord H.† is to march to Paris, to compel the Corsican adventurer to undo his work.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 1802.

My dearest Brother,

I will certainly be with you on Friday, and therefore it is not

* Mr. Hiley Addington. † Lord Hawkesbury.

necessary to enter much into the detail of the subject of your letter. I own I think you seem to have received from Tom an impression of something much more distinct, and much more nearly brought into the shape of a proposition, than this matter is, or probably ever will be. The possibilities which occurred in the course of a confidential communication with Pitt, were such as I had neither the disposition, nor, as I thought, the right to withhold (even if I had had the wish to do so,) from you or him, or from Lord Spencer; but I cannot help thinking that we are travelling much too fast, when we are meeting in formal congress to deliberate on the speculations arising out of two or three morning rides at Walmer.

As to the state of public affairs, it seems to me that war is inevitable—that war, if it comes, must a little sooner or a little later, place the government in Pitt's hands; and that this ought to be the wish of every man, who thinks it at all material to himself, whether Bonaparte shall or not treat us in twelve months, precisely in the style he has now treated the Swiss.

The question then is, whether it is better to facilitate to him the means of carrying on his government with the assistance of those who (I speak it perhaps too proudly, but I feel it to be true,) can bring to him both real knowledge and talents, and also reputation and confidence with the public; or whether by difficulties, such as we certainly may create if we choose it, we shall drive him to the necessity of acting with those assistants only, with whose help a man in full health, and in times of profound peace, would not, in my opinion, be able creditably to himself, or usefully to the country, to carry on the government.

For myself, I need not tell you that I certainly will, and certainly ought to, subscribe implicitly to the opinion of my friends, without whose cordial concurrence in every step I take, I can neither hope to preserve the energy of my own mind, such as it ought to be to meet such a crisis, nor can claim that public confidence, without which I can render no service. But

I own I should deeply feel the mortification of being obliged, by their decision, to rest the grounds of my conduct on the presence or absence of two such individuals as Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury, to whom this would give a consequence and weight, which I never imagined I should have been the instrument of conferring upon them.

As to the imputation of seeking office by unworthy compromises, I should much more fear that of recommending to others measures of vigour and of danger, in the responsibility of which I declined, when called upon, to take my share.

All this, however, we may talk over more fully when we meet; and if, as is most likely, our council leads to nothing else, it will at least give me the pleasure of seeing you, and of assuring you of my unalterable determination, long since taken, to be guided entirely by your decision in this, as in every similar discussion that can come in question.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Althorp, Nov. 3, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

I return to you your letter from Dropmore, and will bring with me to-morrow that which was enclosed in it to me, although as you would naturally imagine, it does not in any respect vary from what was written to you.

I am not surprised to find some uneasiness in William's mind, at seeing the inclination of our opinions to be in some degree different from his, but both he and you (a little) have written as if your opinion and his were finally made up, at a time when in truth we are very reasonably meeting to discuss and to deliberate, in order by those discussions to find the way to a just and useful decision.

I have easily prevailed upon Lord Spencer to come and take

his share in these very interesting communications, because he feels with me, that so far from there being any ridicule in the Stowe Congress, the ridicule and absurdity would be in our meeting together in parliament at such a time as this, without having previously advised and consulted together, as to the future course of our public duty. I find his opinions, in general, to be such as I told you I had expected to find them, but I am not a little gratified in his going over to express them himself, as I shall so be relieved from the apprehension of misstating or misconceiving his sentiments. Upon points so important as these, no one person can properly speak for another, and we shall best form and express our opinions by meeting and conversing together as we shall do at Stowe.

Lord Spencer will go over to you on Saturday morning, in the expectation of passing that day and the next with you and William. I will not delay so long, but in my anxiety to discuss amply these serious questions with you, now that I have fully explained them to Lord Spencer, I will return to Stowe to-morrow. If you can conveniently send your horses to Towcester to-morrow about two o'clock, I shall be there at that time, but if it is of any inconvenience to you, I shall find post-horses easily, and I have a key of the park.

I still think that it will be very difficult to avoid war. The new address of the Executive government to the people of Helvetia, is a new provocation to the rest of Europe, by declaring that the Helvetians must obey the commands of the Great Consul in choosing their government. I am glad to see that the bullying note from Talleyrand, Lucchesini, and Cetto, is not signed by Markoff. Take care of yourself my dearest brother, and do not neglect or defy the leg that requires such control, care, and attention.

I will see you to-morrow.

The plot against the King, mentioned in the next letter

was that of Colonel Despard, an Irish republican, who with thirty-two associates, chiefly Irish of a low class, were captured in a public-house in Oakley Street, Lambeth, on the 18th of November. To follow the example of France, to get up a revolution and overthrow the government, were the chief objects of their conspiracy. Despard and nine of his accomplices were subsequently found guilty, and he with six of them suffered the death accorded to traitors, on a scaffold erected on the top of the gaol in Horsemonger Lane.

The progress of events and of opinions to the close of the year may be traced in the subsequent correspondence.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 18th Nov., 1802.

My dearest Brother,

William, as I guess by his letter, does not come to dine with me from Dropmore till to-morrow. He has heard from Bath that his friend remains there three weeks longer, and he seems glad to have heard this determination. A.* speaks of this in London as a circumstance absolutely necessary to health, and describes himself as having urged this strongly by his brother, whom he sent to Bath for that purpose. This fiction of his is obviously imagined for the purpose of preventing the friends of the absentee from taking any alarm at his absence. Under these circumstances, I cannot as yet see any pressing reason for your coming up, and do sincerely hope you will stay and nurse yourself with Grosvenor to be ready for any pressing occasion that may arise.

* Mr. Addington.

The news which you quote respecting naval orders, bears certainly a very hostile look; but the general belief and expectation is, that government will botch the thing up as well or as ill as they can, but that botched up it will be. They have a new accession to their cabinet: Lord Castlereagh is now one of that select body. The public confidence does not seem increased by this event; but, although the general conversation which I hear betrays on all sides much alarm, that alarm seems to lead more to timid counsels than to bold ones. In truth, although bold counsels are in this case the lesser evil, the evil even of them is so great that I do not wonder to see most men appalled in looking at them.

I hear nothing of the measure which we talked over as likely to occur. Everything is favourable to it, but I do not know whether or no it is pursued as it was intended.

My only visitors of this morning bring me an account of the discovery of a new plot, which is said to have been conceived as against the person of the King on his going to the House next Tuesday.

Charles Williams asserts positively that Colonel Despard and eleven others are seized, and are now under examination, and that the Chancellor has been by that prevented from going to Westminster Hall. I tell it you as I hear it; if I hear more to-morrow I will write.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 20, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

I have been out or seeing people all the morning, and have merely time to write these lines to beg and entreat that you will not think of coming to town till all uneasiness about your leg is quite done away.

We do not propose to amend the address, but merely to attack

the government for their misconduct in the last six months, and to give notice of some further motion on that head.

Ever yours most affectionately,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Oxford Street, Nov. 24, 1802.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I have not much to add to what you will see in the papers of the debates in the two Houses yesterday. I am told that Tom's speech was very able and impressive, and extremely well attended to. He says that Canning's speech was also good. Wyndham's, though very ingenious and full of point against Fox, was not well directed to the object of the debate, and does not seem to have told much in it. Lord Hawkesbury and Lord Castlereagh's both very lame, and Addington as usual. The language seems, however, to have been completely pacific, and I have no doubt that they have made up their minds to do anything and to submit to anything rather than to look Bonaparte in the face. We shall therefore unquestionably very soon hear that the Cape has followed Martinique; and we shall, I suppose, have some new arrangement of *langues* for Malta which will be very truly stated to be quite as advantageous as the last. In our House there was nothing that had even the appearance of debate. Lord Pelham and his colleagues did not even attempt an answer to any of the points of charge stated against them, and the Chancellor and Lord Ellenborough showed from the beginning that they were not disposed to speak.

Peace and submission are therefore the fashion of the day, and for those purposes his Majesty could not possibly be better accommodated with Ministers than he now is.

Pitt remains at Bath, and, as I should guess, is very little likely to come up at all in this state of things. He is improving

rapidly in his health, and has written to the government to disclaim taking any share in their counsels.

Ever most affectionately yours.

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Friday, Nov. 26, 1802.

My dearest Brother,

Our parliamentary labours are suspended till Wednesday, on which day there will be an opening for renewing the debate, as the Navy Estimates will then be brought forward. I am told that we are to vote 50,000 seamen for three months; our last vote in June for seven months, was 70,000, but that was in reference to our West India fleet, and to the length of time required to pay off the seamen employed on distant stations; so that I cannot make out what sort of standing force, at that time, was considered as the then quantum of our establishment. Upon that occasion, Addington being questioned by Tierney, as to the probable amount of his peace establishment, answered (without formerly pledging himself,) that it would be about 30,000 men. The other day being reproached with the defenceless state of the country, he said, we had then 48,000 men borne upon the books, and yet I understand there is not really an effective number of more than 35,000. Neither of this, nor of the military state, do I know any of the details, but under the general impression which I had received, I was surprised to find Addington vapouring very much upon his navy and army. Upon the navy, it is reported that Lord St. Vincent had announced his determination to resign in the case of w.r, from his conviction that our ships were almost destroyed by the wear and tear of their last campaign; and of the army, I had thought the state was as bad as possible, at a time when Addington insisted that he had not disbanded one man of the infantry except the militia, and those whose conditions of

service were limited to the war. I hear no particular news. The language of your old friend of University College, is said to be entirely with us as to war and peace, and so is that of his middle-aged master.

The state of our relations in the East, is illustrated by the following document.

LORD ELGIN* TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Constantinople, Nov. 14, 1802.

My Lord,

Early on the morning of the 10th instant, the messenger Courvoisier arrived here and delivered to me your Lordship's instructions, announcing Sir Ralph Abercrombie's expedition. I have no time to enter at present on their contents.

Meanwhile, I am extremely happy to have to mention, that I have just received a letter from the Governor-General in India, in reply to the urgent suggestions I had repeatedly conveyed to him, on the utility and the expediency of sending a force from the east, to act against the French in the Red Sea. And his Lordship informs me, that, although he has no authority from England to employ a large force on the service, and could not do it, in the present state of affairs under his government; yet, as soon as the season would admit, he could send thither a corps sufficient to reduce, and by the assistance of his Majesty's squadron to retain Cosire and Suez, thereby embarrassing the enemy by obstructing his communications with the countries contiguous to Cosire, and by encouraging the Mamelukes in

* Ambassador Extraordinary to Turkey. During his mission, he procured those invaluable works of art known as the "Elgin Marbles." He died 14th May, 1841. His mother was governess to the Princess Charlotte.

Upper Egypt, who by this channel may be supplied with arms and ammunition. As the season for sailing up the Red Sea is now at hand, I may indulge the hope, that this expedition from England will arrive at its destination in a proper time to combine its operations or demonstrations with the attacks from the Mediterranean and Syria; and a very great additional degree of effect be thereby secured to his Majesty's exertions against the enemy in Egypt. I have acquainted Admiral Blankett with the present plans, both by the way of Bussorah and by General Koehler.

I have the honour to be, &c., &c., &c.,

(Signed) ELGIN.

LORD ELGIN TO LORD HAWKESBURY.

Constantinople, July 31, 1802.

MY LORD,

I am informed by Mr. Barker, English agent at Aleppo, that three or four Tatars coming in company with dispatches from Bussorah, had been killed, and their packets destroyed: the fourth having brought some letters, one of which was from the Marquis of Wellesley to me, I beg to forward it, as containing the most recent intelligence I have received from India.

At all events, it was my intention to have laid this letter before his Majesty's Ministers, since it brings under notice several of the objects connected with the East India concerns, to which, at the verbal request of Mr. Secretary Dundas, I have directed my attention and my exertions during my embassy at this place, and which have not been progressively reported in my official correspondence.

From the earliest period of my residence here, I have made it my study to collect and to send to the Governor-General, by every express proceeding from hence, regular statements not only of the progress of the war on the continent, but also of the politics of the continental powers; and in a more particular degree I have

conveyed all the information I could procure, and all the views my situation has enabled me to combine relative to the circumstances of the enemy in Egypt, and the means of recovering it. I have made, as regularly, communications on these subjects to the Presidency of Bombay; and have assisted the Company's agents in the selection of the intelligence which it was their business to search for and transmit.

It was not my province to offer advice; but the impressions under which I wrote were,—"that much inconvenience would ultimately arise to our East India interests, if the French were allowed to evacuate Egypt by an amicable arrangement, which would secure their exclusive influence, if not their future possession of that country. That the animosity displayed by the Emperor Paul, might even lead him into a concurrence with the views of the French on Egypt, as well as into plans of direct hostility against India, doubly dangerous and burdensome while the French remained in Egypt; and that it was expedient to make a formidable co-operation with the vizier from India, not only as the weakest defence of the enemy was on the side of the Red Sea and Upper Egypt, but, particularly, on account of the complicated and extensive expeditions in which the forces from England were engaged last year, which appeared to render it almost impossible for his Majesty to send an adequate armament by the way of the Mediterranean."

Accordingly, I have now the satisfaction of perceiving that, although the Marquis of Wellesley did not judge it prudent to enter alone upon an attack on Egypt from India, yet that his Lordship had considered my communications as requiring of him to take such measures as might prepare him for making a joint effort, when his Majesty should be able to dispose of a sufficient force, and act against the enemy by way of Europe. In fact, it appears from his correspondence with Sir R. Abercrombie, that his Majesty's commands of the 6th October, 1800, communicated to his Lordship by Mr. Secretary Dundas, found him with a

much larger corps of troops in readiness for this service, than had been demanded, having the necessary transports and provisions for several months, &c., &c., &c.

I have likewise during my residence here, kept up a very frequent correspondence with Admiral Blankett, whose knowledge of the Red Sea and its neighbouring countries, has ever appeared to be not inferior to his acquaintance with our interests there, and to his zeal in the service entrusted to him. Early last year I had been informed of the difficulties he experienced on the part of the Sheriffe of Mecca. I learned also that the Marquis of Wellesley was very desirous to prevent any interruption in the annual pilgrimages from Hindostan to the Holy Shrine; and it was felt at the same time, that the influence of the Sheriffe, if it could be properly directed, would be found a principal engine to alienate the Mahomedans in Egypt from their favourable dispositions towards the French. Under these circumstances, I conveyed to Amiral Blankett at Bombay, where he was in September, firmans from the Grand Signor, recommending the British to the Sheriffe in the most forcible terms; and I also procured a firman, authorising Admiral Blankett to land our forces on the Island of Cameran, or any place in the Red Sea, where water and other conveniences might be procured. Admiral Blankett did at the time acknowledge the receipt of these letters.

Your Lordship is already apprised by my dispatch, No. 60, and its inclosures, of the result of my enquiries addressed to Captain Malcolm, on the occasion of the misunderstanding on the part of Russia, and the possibility of her affecting our interests in India. I have since received a further report from Captain Malcolm, dated 10th April, and connected with the same subject; but as it has been sent directly to Mr. Secretary Dundas, it were superfluous for me to annex a copy of it. There was also another point in my conduct, respecting Captain Malcolm's mission, to which the Marquis of Wellesley alludes, and which was likewise a strong inducement with me for engaging

my relation, Mr. Bruce, to proceed to Captain Malcolm's residence in his way to India. On the first notice of the mission to Persia, Mr. Jones sent me word that the Pasha of Bagdad had testified great suspicion and apprehension, least by forming a connection with the English, the King of Persia should acquire such accession of force, and aid of such a description as would afford him the facility of overpowering the district of Bagdad, and Mr. Jones seemed desirous that I should satisfy the Porte on this subject. But as Mr. Jones's communication to me was no proof that the alarm had extended beyond the Pasha's mind, I contented myself with *watching* only the impressions of the Porte without exciting them; holding myself prepared to repel any such misconception, should it arise. It did not appear, and I accordingly was thus enabled, particularly on the 8th of November, to remove any uneasiness, or hesitation, which might have been created in Captain Malcolm, upon the supposition that his negotiation interfered with the important interests which his Majesty was then supporting with Turkey.

In my dispatch of the 30th May, and sent by Mr. Morier to Mr. Secretary Dundas (under flying seal to your Lordship), I stated in some detail the exertions I had made with a view of facilitating the progress of the overland East India dispatches through Turkey. To them Marquis Wellesley alludes in the seventh paragraph of his letter.

When it is recollected that all arrangements hitherto made in this Empire, for the behalf of the East India Company, have been formed under circumstances in which Great Britain had no claim to particular favour, it is not astonishing that similar concessions, however trifling in appearance, should have been obtained with difficulty, and should be treated by the Porte, as grants proceeding exclusively from their own free will. On the other hand, the ignorant and suspicious character of the Turks, has necessarily imposed upon me the duty (where acting only on my own judgment, and without orders,) to

suspend any discussions which might, from those peculiarities, have operated unfavourably to the great undertaking of expelling the French out of Egypt. But I have of late considered myself as relieved in a measure from that restraint, and have endeavoured more openly to bring to the understanding of the Turkish ministers, that "by supporting and encouraging the East India Company's establishments throughout the empire, which it has the means of doing without incurring expense, or exciting jealousy, it will secure to itself a strong interest in Great Britain." A variety of occurrences have of late furnished applications for this principle. It has, in particular, being brought into evidence by the recent dispute between the Pasha of Bagdad and Mr. Jones; and I am not without hopes, that in case it should be found expedient to keep a regular officer at Bagdad, either in a view to the transmission of letters, or to watching the intrigues of the French, that the Reis Effendi will be found disposed to put that residence upon such a footing as to induce persons of respectability and credit to occupy the post.

Thus far I have proceeded upon a general recommendation given to me verbally by Mr. Dundas, to support the East India interests in this country, but without having received one letter, or order from England upon the subject. The very flattering terms of the Marquis of Wellesley's dispatch, justify me in the hope that the impressions on which I have acted, as well as the success of my measures, will meet with the approbation of his Majesty and the East India Company; I shall persevere in the same line of conduct to the best of my ability. But his Majesty's Ministers must be aware, that if these matters are taken under consideration, and instructions sent to me upon them, I should derive much benefit from such a guide, and such authority.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, my Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

ELGIN.

The following communications from the Governor of Jamaica, not only convey much information respecting the state of that important island, but afford many interesting details respecting the great efforts made by the French government to reconquer St. Domingo; long prized as one of the most valuable of the French colonies. In imitation of the revolution of the mother country, the black population had revolted in the name of liberty, and had gone through the atrocities of a Reign of Terror. The French changes of government were copied with Chinese fidelity; nevertheless, Bonaparte was not flattered by the silhouette of himself produced in Toussaint l'Ouverture, and took energetic measures, though himself the head of a republic, to restore the slavery that the negroes had abolished.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, May 25, 1802.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

Contrary to general expectation, the French have been fortunate enough to succeed in restoring Guadaloupe and St. Domingo to their government; the people of colour in the former island, having, as I understand, made no resistance to the French troops, and Toussaint having, after several vain efforts to oppose the force sent against him, submitted upon terms to General Le Clerc. However favourable these circumstances may prove to the French government in the first instance, our colonists seem to consider the freedom given to the slaves in those two French islands, and the employment of so many black troops as a permanent establishment, as fraught with danger to their properties. The people of Jamaica are more inimical than ever to the West India corps as a part of their defence, although experience has hitherto shown that the climate dis-

agrees with Europeans, until they have been a considerable time here; at least upon the system constantly practised in respect to the troops and their barracks. The island has for some years provisioned 3000 men, and furnished them with barracks, as well as maintained wholly the 20th Dragoons, the pay of the officers excepted. The Assembly had agreed, provided that our government would consent to give up the point of employing black troops, to pay 2000 men their British pay, exclusive of the regiment of Dragoons, which, perhaps, were equal to 1000 infantry in addition to the former 2000. Thus they had consented to support wholly 3000 men without any expense to the British government. 5000, however, being now considered as a proper peace establishment for the security of Jamaica, placed in so new a situation by the events of the French Revolution, and the expense of their maintenance being a great object, I have called a meeting of the Assembly on the 15th June, to propose to them the removal of the 20th Dragoons and the 2nd West India regiment, on condition that the island shall consider itself bound to pay, provision and lodge that number, or any other number not greater, that may be effective and considered necessary. And in order to preserve the health of the troops, which is impracticable according to the present system, that the Assembly should abolish the Board of Works, and give the direction and control of the barrack department to the Commander-in-chief of Jamaica for the time being, forming a corps of artificers (principally blacks) to employ upon that service.

I have, during our tour round the island, fixed upon several very eligible healthy spots for interior barracks, not far removed from the coast; but although I have £20,000 currency at my disposal for the purpose, and the power of purchasing land by summoning a jury to value it, yet I cannot possibly contract for the buildings upon any tolerable terms. The materials are all upon the spots, the lands being covered by wood, and stone and

lime being universally at hand. I made an experiment at Stony Hill barracks, which convinces me thoroughly of what can be done, by employing even the artificers of the corps alone stationed at the particular place, in buildings and repairs. The Assembly vote an annual sum for the repairs of each barrack; but scarcely any one will contract for them, if at a distance from a town. Having leave from the Board of Works to expend the sum voted for Stony Hill, I employed the artificers of the 85th regiment upon the necessary works, by which means, with the same funds, they did at least four times as much as the contractor would have done, and in one fourth of the time. The sickness and mortality among the troops have proceeded perhaps more, from the choice of situations for barracks; from their being of a temporary nature; from the troops not having been allowed a single article for their comfort or convenience in them; from the utter insufficiency of the hospitals; and from there having been no regulations or system for the government of the troops—than from the climate alone.

This is proved by the health of the corps at Old Maroon town and Stony Hill, where the men are allowed to go out at all hours, and the mortality is less than in Europe; by stone or brick buildings being impenetrable to the weather, and the upper stories being always very healthy, though the lower ones may not be so. From the improved health of the troops, since I procured bedding, cooking utensils, &c., from the Assembly for them, and since the commanding officers have been instructed at what hours to drill their corps, to form them into regular messes, &c., &c., &c. I have also distributed the detachments from corps, so as to place the respective head-quarters in central situations, and thereby enable the field-officers to visit them at pleasure. On my arrival, I found detachments 80 or 100 miles distant from their head-quarters, and dying like rotten sheep.

There are at present 7000 men in Jamaica, (including the black corps of 500, which I am going to send to Barbadoes,)

Sir Thomas Trigge having forwarded to this island the second battalion of the 85th and 55th regiments, which he had the option of detaining under his command.

The troops were crowded in their quarters previous to the arrival of those two corps; and the latter consisting of 750 men, I had no alternative of providing for, but that of gaining time by sending them to the north side of the island in the ships of war, to relieve the corps which were most likely to be ordered to England at the conclusion of a peace, and which I shall now collect at Port Royal.

You have no idea of the difficulty and expense of quartering troops in Jamaica, beyond a certain number, independently of the opposition made by the Jamaica public to defray the expense of more than 3000 men in that respect, and the disinclination of government to bear the burthen.

Our troops are principally Dutch and Irish, and there has been great desertion among them. The service of many men of the 60th regiment has expired; and the plan is to increase the white population of the island by their means; giving them land whereon to settle in the interior of the country. I doubt, however, if there would be much industry among them.

The militia of Jamaica is tolerably good, and consists of about 8000 horse and foot, of all colours; the whites composing rather more than three-fourths of the numbers. The mulattos are, however, upon the increase, and are much more attentive to their duty than the other classes.

Until I inspected the militia, they had not been called out, or attended to since the Maroon war in 1795; and my predecessor had exempted so many persons from the service during the intermediate period, by granting them brevet commissions, upon all which there was a considerable fee paid into his office, (or rather his pocket, for the secretary had only a trifling proportion of the emoluments,) that there was great discontent. I set out by declaring that no brevets would be issued in future—during

my command at least—which will remedy the evil in some degree.

The constant change from parish to parish of both officers and men, prevents one from ever obtaining correct returns of their numbers; and as the principal proprietors have been educated in Europe, they merely come here for a few years to collect funds to spend in that quarter of the world—so that the overseers and book-keepers are generally at the head of the different corps, which does not certainly tend to improve their discipline. Officers of the militia always rise by seniority, and the colonels recommend the vacancies, which, consequently, are filled up from their own class—not the first in the island. I mean to propose a qualification for any commission above the rank of captain, which will be giving the non-proprietors latitude enough.

I shall also endeavour to reduce the number of horse, which are out of all proportion to the infantry, and are an useless service in a great measure here: an adjutant to each battalion—who is capable of directing the execution of a few useful movements, that I propose to make them all practice, whose business it would become to collect the names of all who leave or arrive in the parish—appears to be absolutely necessary. The clothing of the infantry should be the same by law in every parish, and the same the horse, as at present they are unnecessarily a very motley crew; all colours of the rainbow. I question if more than two-thirds of the militia are armed with the only useful weapons, the musket and bayonet; the horse, the artillery, and the light horse, &c., being so numerous. The latter description are raised by the colonels, and attached to the corps of infantry; directly contrary to every idea of utility in any one respect. The only objection to the interior barracks appears to be, the expense of provisioning them with salt meats, flour and rum; the carriage of those articles being in many situations equal to their cost. The Assembly, however, last year upon my representation

gave up that point, in consideration of the advantages to be derived from the plan of removing the troops in general from the coast. Should I be successful in prevailing upon the Assembly to pay their establishment of 5000 men, it would ease the British government of a very great expense, and this island would pay at least its proportion of burthens. Government and the island would then be upon good terms, which has not been the case for a great many years, and is of itself a principle object.

I have thus troubled you with a detail of what is most interesting to me, but which I am sure must have proved very tedious to you. I had no other subject to write upon, Mrs. Nugent having given you an account of our tour, and I hope that will prove a sufficient apology. Browne of the artillery has been with us ever since our return, and is considered as one of the family. I have stationed him in Spanish Town, giving him a room at the King's house, and have procured leave for him to be a member of the mess of the 69th regiment. He is really a sensible fine boy. Mrs. Nugent writes to Lady Buckingham and Lady Temple, and we are endeavouring to send you by the present Speaker, (Mr. Osborne,) some of the curiosities of the country. With every affectionate wish and kind regard for all the family at Stowe, who I am rejoiced to find are recovered from their very unpleasant illness,

I remain, my dear Lord Buckingham,

Your affectionate humble servant,

G. NUGENT.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, June 23, 1802.

MY DEAR LORD BUCKINGHAM,

This letter will be delivered to you probably by Mr. Kean Osborne, a *protégé* of Sir Peter Parker's when upon this station, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly, who goes to England upon leave of absence. He has undertaken the charge of some

native plants and seeds of this island, from Mrs. Nugent to Lady Buckingham, and can give you any information respecting the state of it you may wish to have.

We have had a short but a busy Session, which is just closed by the prorogation of the legislature.

I expected that the Assembly would have agreed to maintain wholly their present military establishment of 5000 infantry, and have placed the direction and control of the barrack department in the hands of the Commander-in-chief. However, they have been disgusted by the additional duties laid upon sugars, and upon exports to the colonies, and I have gained but a few trifling points relating to barracks, in order to enable me to station the troops in eligible situations.

If considered as desirable, I shall remain in Jamaica until the new system of barracks is introduced, which will render the troops healthy, and prove that I have been of some use here.

Toussaint, Dessalines and Christophe, the three principal black chiefs, have all, I hear, fallen into the snare laid for them by the French General Le Clerc, who is going to send them to France. The latter gentleman and his generals do not seem to care by what means they gain their ends; treachery having been made use of to entrap the black generals. We have but little intercourse with the French in that island, although, from having still so many emigrants in Kingston, we have now and then irregular intelligence of the events which are passing there. The French army are altogether disgusted and discontented, and all ranks are dying full as fast as our troops ever did in any part of the world.

A captain of our navy told me the other day, that he had accompanied General Le Clerc several miles from Cape François in order to inspect three or four thousand Chasseurs. He thanked them for their good conduct during the war, said they should all in a short time return to France, and closed his speech with a "vive la République!" This was not echoed by above two or three men, and there was great agitation apparently amongst

them. A short time after, several of the most respectable of their *bas officiers* shot themselves in the ranks. I should imagine that the First Consul will not persuade very large reinforcements to embark for St. Domingo, if the news reaches France of the mortality which exists among the troops.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, Aug. 8, 1802.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

I don't find my Jamaica friends so cordial, in political matters, as on my first arrival, although I have reason to think that both Mrs. Nugent and I are popular in the island.

The Assembly seem determined to grant nothing in addition to their present allowances to the troops upon their establishment, and in aid of the mother country. Nothing but the dread of black corps, employed as a part of their defence, can, I am confident, induce them to consent to the wishes and expectations of our government. They plead poverty, when they can well afford to maintain their whole military establishment of 5000 infantry, (whites,) so necessary in the present state of St. Domingo, and the French possessions in general.

The people here are fond of bullying as they were in Ireland, and like the Irish, they are easily managed by a firmness on the part of government. I hope, therefore, that the business of black troops for Jamaica will not be given up, should the Assembly persist in their refusal to accede to the terms proposed at their next meeting.

We have still but little communication with the ruling powers in St. Domingo, but I sent an officer to Cape François the other day in the 'Topaze' frigate, on pretence of delivering up General Rigaud (who had been a prisoner here two years,) but really to obtain some information. It appears that General Le Clerc has lost two thirds of the troops he brought out with him, as well as those who have followed him, by the yellow

fever. Officers of all ranks have died in proportion, and the civilians have not escaped. In short, no plague ever made more havock than the yellow fever has done there; but they fancied themselves invulnerable, and braved everything. The army in St. Domingo have been most intemperate, the officers ever preferring the tafia (the first distillation of rum) to wines, and exposing themselves unnecessarily to the sun. Fear has succeeded to their former bravado, and General Le Clerc, together with every man he can spare from the service of the lower country, have taken shelter in the mountains. The officer I sent, saw General Le Clerc, and Madame Bonaparte Le Clerc, as she styles herself. He receives his company in a loose gown, and a silk handkerchief round his head, and cannot conceal his republican principles, and hatred of our nation. He talks big about his feats against Toussaint, and says he suppressed the insurrection with 8000 men. Whereas he got the black chiefs in his possession, by that peculiar treachery which the French know so well how to make use of, and he lost the number he mentions, merely in the field. 16000 men accompanied M. Le Clerc to St. Domingo; 6000 followed him as a reinforcement; and I hear that 3000 have since arrived there. By the most authenticated accounts, he had not 6000 men (white troops,) fit for duty when the 'Topaze,' was at the Cape; but he has embodied a considerable number of blacks, who were formerly employed by us when we evacuated the island, and he employs them under Dessalines and Christophe, (two of Toussaint's quondam chiefs,) to force the negroes to return to their plantations upon pain of death. The chiefs in question received as an encouragement so much per head for every refractory negro; which has of course destroyed great numbers. Le Clerc stated, that in the French part of the island, there were not more than 60,000 blacks remaining; which is incredible. Certain is it that their plantations are in a shocking state, and that it will be utterly impossible, without capital, shipping or

negroes, for them to furnish sugar, for many years to come, for the supply of the European markets. The people here neither see the advantages nor the dangers attending Jamaica, from the present state of St. Domingo.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord Buckingham,
Your obliged and affectionate servant,
G. NUGENT.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, Nov. 19, 1802.

MY DEAREST LORD BUCKINGHAM,

The game is up for the present in St. Domingo; and it is to be proved whether or no the French government will consider the island worth their possession, at the expense of another more powerful armament than the first, and the extermination of the negro population—that being the present system, if the reduction of their European forces from 32,000 to about 5000, (hospitals inclusive) would permit them to put it into execution. Le Clerc was an imbecile; but he is no more. His corpse, with Madame Le Clerc, are gone to France in the 'Swiftsure.' Rochambeau, at Port-au-Prince, has the command of the troops; and Hector Daure, le Préfet Colonial, (who announces to me Le Clerc's death,) styles himself Capitaine-Général, *par interim*.

The whole of the black troops have gone over to the insurgents, with their generals; and the French are confined to the principal towns, which are in a state of siege.

Dessalines, by denouncing Toussaint and his nephew, Charles Belair, completely outwitted Le Clerc, although he principally did it to get rid of two great rivals in command. Le Clerc would have evacuated the Cape, and retired to the Island of Tortuga, (where he had sent his sick and wounded,) had not Le Tonche Treville announced to him that he would fire upon the

boat the general might attempt to escape in, if he did not change his intentions.

The inhabitants are now armed, and actually defend the colony, the few French troops remaining being too debilitated, and having been too much harassed, to act offensively. Dessalines had contrived to render the colonists suspected by Le Clerc, to prevent them from being armed, and added to the French force. Nothing but the desertion of Clairvaux (who feared a discovery of the plans of the insurgents,) before the principal chiefs could collect their force to make an attack on the Cape, where every black was ready to join them, could have prevented an indiscriminate massacre of every white individual there; not one of 1600 being at that moment armed. Le Clerc became alarmed, and saw his error just in time to save the place. He then destroyed every black in the town by Noyades, without regard to age or sex. The French troops are living entirely upon salt provisions throughout the colony, as they cannot stir out of the towns.

It is strongly reported, that both Le Clerc and Duqua (the chief of his staff,) poisoned themselves from vexation and disappointment. As to Madame Le Clerc, so far from feeling any concern at the precarious times, and the horrid scenes which were passing in St. Domingo, she outdid everything that one reads in history of Messalina. All the officers of Le Clerc's body-guard, his aides-de-camp, &c., &c., &c., nothing escaped her.

Le Clerc failed in his objects, by coming out thoroughly unprepared to take the field, having depended upon the Americans for every description of supplies; by his bills being in America at a discount of forty and fifty per cent, and, consequently, having no money to pay troops; by inattention to the European troops as to diet, medicines, and the common precautions necessary in so bad a climate, and fancying that they were making war in Italy; by first disarming the blacks, and after-

wards forming them into corps, when his numbers were too much reduced to occupy the great extent of even the French part of St. Domingo, which, by showing his weakness, united almost the whole black population against him; by not concentrating his regular force in time, and by his delay in arming the colonists; by frittering away his force, and thereby having them uniformly cut up in detail; by quarrelling with most of his best general officers; by reporting the state of the colony to the First Consul in the most mischievous and deceitful manner; in short, by fancying himself a good officer, and as nearly allied to Bonaparte in talents as he was in blood. The best informed West Indians are thoroughly convinced that St. Domingo can never again rival our sugar colonies in any great degree, even if the French government should sacrifice the lives of forty or fifty thousand more troops in the attempt to keep possession of it; as all the plantations, and the negroes, and works upon them, will be first destroyed. Query, then, will the object be worth the expense of obtaining it, as the restoration of the former order of things cannot take place in less than half a century, if the French had capital to fulfil their wishes; and as the revenue arising to the mother country, from the produce of the colony, could not for a long series of years be of much use. The French have been too long accustomed to lay the countries in which they have made war under contribution, to be long satisfied with the present losing game. If so, are they not interested in the endeavour to place our principal colony, at least, in a similar state—Bonaparte having constantly shown his determination to deprive us of all the benefits of commerce and colonization in his power to accomplish. You will pardon me for all this; but I was willing to let you know the real state of St. Domingo, so interesting to the British empire.

Believe me, dear Lord Buckingham,
Your most grateful and affectionate servant,
G. NUGENT.

1803.

MR. ADDINGTON'S NEGOTIATIONS WITH MR. PITT—LORD GRENVILLE'S NARRATIVE OF POLITICAL TRANSACTIONS—RUPTURE OF THE PEACE OF AMIENS—THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION.

A NEW year opened with a far less pacific character than might have been anticipated, from a new year commencing with the advantages of a general peace. Bonaparte was evidently making the most of the interval of relaxation to strengthen his own position, and discover the weak points of his late antagonist. He had despatched to St. Domingo, an armament supposed to be strong enough to make short work of the black insurgents. He had contrived other things, equally at variance with a pacific policy. He had sent instructions to General Decaen, governor of the French settlements of Pondicherry and Chandernagor, to ascertain the best means of attacking the British possessions in the East Indies. The general was to watch the native princes and the population of the districts that acknowledged the British rule. He was to study their manners and resources,

and quickest mode of communicating with them in case of war. He was to ascertain what European force might be required to enable them to shake off the English domination, with what warlike *matériel* that force should be provided, and what amount of supplies would sustain it for a given time. He was to find out a convenient port for the disembarkation of troops, and was to calculate the time and means neccessary to carry it by a *coup de main*. Finally, he was to send a fresh report every six months to France by a confidential and intelligent messenger.* The First Consul was as active in demonstrating his views in other directions; in short, his proceedings were so unequivocal, that at last Mr. Addington appears to have been roused into some slight degree of suspicion of his intentions. The treaty of Amiens too, the boast of his administration, had fallen into great disrepute. The vast majority that had approved of its provisions, had lately been diminishing very rapidly; and the old warlike spirit of the people was beginning to declare itself in a manner that could not but be embarrassing to a peaceable government.

Mr. Pitt had for several months refrained from an active participation in public affairs. Ostensibly nursing his gout at Bath, it seemed as if he had abandoned the government to the fate which its notorious unfitness was preparing for it. In this retirement, however, he took counsel with the ablest of his late colleagues, with whom, having compared notes respecting the position and pros-

* Thiers' "Histoire du Consulat et de l'Empire," Tome IV.

pects of the administration, the state of public opinion, and other matters of great interest, he resolved to play a more active part in politics. With his usual sagacity, Lord Grenville will be found anticipating his friend's movements, and describing the peculiar state of his mind at this date. What his intentions were, Lord Grenville does not venture to describe; in all probability they were not decided. We are only allowed to perceive that he considered the Addington experiment had had a sufficient trial, and that a change was imperative. The purport of the subsequent paragraphs, is not clearly expressed; but from some sentences in the letters which follow, it seems as if some negotiation was in progress.

Mr. Addington had made his brother-in-law, Mr. Hiley Addington, a privy councillor, but that does not seem to have lessened, in any marked degree, the acknowledged difficulties of his administration. It is evident that he stood dreadfully in fear of the unfavourable influence to which we have referred, and, as if to counteract it, graciously intimated to some of Mr. Pitt's friends, that if Mr. Pitt desired to return to office, he would be no obstacle in his way. Learning that the ex-minister was to pass through London on the 3rd of January, he waylaid him on his arrival, and carried him for a few days to his retreat in Richmond Park; whence, however, Mr. Pitt suddenly departed on the 6th, leaving a letter for his host, stating that he was obliged to leave to attend to the sale of an estate. The following communication will make the reader acquainted with the locality to which he transferred himself, and the character of the conference of the

two distinguished statesmen who there interchanged their opinions; which was assuredly not to the advantage of the existing ministry.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Jan. 10, 1803.

My dear Brother,

I only waited for the opportunity which Tom's return to town now affords me, in order to write to you without the risk of putting Mr. Freeling* in our confidence. The visit here passed off in all respects as satisfactorily as possible. I found Pitt better in health, and spirits, than I had even been led to imagine, though I had heard so much of the wonders of Bath. And in proportion to the renewed strength of his body, appears to me to be that of his mind. He has taken his resolution to attend parliament immediately after the recess, and to declare his opinions on the general situation of affairs. This will, I have no doubt, be done with all possible management and tenderness towards the individuals in government; but unless the tone of the government itself should be totally changed on his appearance, (an event which I judge to be by no means improbable,) I should think the substance of his opinions will be found to vary extremely from those of Lord Hawkesbury's and Addington's, though his principal attack will, I suppose, be not on them, but on their new supporters.

The appointment of Hiley† seems to remove, at some distance, all idea of direct negotiation with Sheridan, Grey or Tierney. And, on the other hand, Pitt assures me distinctly, that Lord Castlereagh was not sent down to make him the smallest overture of assisting them. He will have seen Addington since he left me, but I think if anything of that sort had been intended, the other would have been the channel chosen.

* Afterwards Sir Francis Freeling, Secretary to the Post Office.

† Mr. Hiley Addington, as joint Paymaster of the Forces.

It is difficult to tell exactly in what shape the effect of the gradual improvement of Pitt's opinions will be found. Nor do I imagine that he himself has yet taken any distinct resolution as to the time or mode of his bringing them forward. But in some shape or other, (as little hostile as he can, yet so as to do the thing,) I am confident he will make his sentiments publicly known. And, if I am not over sanguine in my hopes, I think he is still in time to work a very great change in the public opinion, and to counteract a great deal of the mischief that has been done by the full career which has hitherto been left to Fox and Sheridan. In the meantime, the report at Paris is that Bonaparte is really losing his senses. Sheridan,* as you will probably have heard, is in his daily conversation, declaring himself a decided supporter of the present government, as the only means of keeping Pitt out. Pitt's presence in parliament will oblige Addington to make his choice between the two lines, for Pitt's mind seems so much irritated against Fox and Sheridan, that I feel it next to impossible that he can submit to be ranked among the supporters of any government that clings to them; and on the other hand, the moment Addington tries to throw them off a little, in order to save appearances towards Pitt, they will probably go off much faster and much farther than he would wish.

I am grieved to hear from you that the second point of which you write to me is not more advanced. I know it is not necessary to press you to urge it on as far as it can depend upon you, but indeed we neither do justice to ourselves nor to the public without some arrangement of the sort, and I should infinitely prefer taking what was the least eligible in its present shape, and trusting to the abundant means there are of working up against any tide or stream, however strong, rather than lay upon our oars as we now do, waiting for circumstances in all respects quite satisfactory.

* He was much courted by Addington at this period.

If the thing absolutely will not do in any shape connected with the person of whom you speak, it would be best to try it, (however unwillingly,) in some other way, rather than to let it fall to the ground, or to admit of any considerable delay, on a subject which is really already so circumstanced as to admit of none. I think I have much to reproach myself with on that score, and am very anxious that something should be done about it. If you have any opportunity of sending a letter safely to Tom, he can convey it quite safely here.

Pitt comes to town by the 3rd or 4th, and I shall of course not be later, though my stay in town ought I think to be regulated by events. I earnestly hope that you will be sufficiently recovered to come about the same time.

I think the probabilities of a speedy renewal of war much greater even than I did when we last talked of it. The language of the French papers is no light indication of this, and other circumstances appear to confirm it. I shall see Woronzow here immediately after the birth-day, and from him I shall probably learn this with more certainty.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 12, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I am just returned from Dropmore, and have brought with me a letter from William, which I send to you in a parcel by the Buckingham coach that sets out from Oxford Street to-morrow at six in the morning. That letter will of course give you the same information which my brother has given me, and therefore I say nothing upon that subject, except that although the general tendency be good, I see in it no such course as promises so speedy a cure as the pressure of the present malady seems to demand.

Whenever you have any communication to make of the arrangement being concluded, which you was overlooking in London, a

line by the coach will reach me safely with the description of all particulars; but then you should apprise me, as I am now apprising you, in order that the parcel may be enquired after, if it does not arrive according to notice.

I hear no news that I can depend upon, but the general belief seems to be that Lord H.* will go up to the Lords, or perhaps Lord P.† give way to Lord Castlereagh in order that Lord Melville may have India. All this is very subordinate, and matters not much. Nothing can save us but vigorous minds in government, and of that I see no prospect collectively or individually before all is lost beyond redemption.

Pitt returned to the house of his friend and successor, in Richmond Park, and again stayed a day or two; when Addington availed himself of the opportunity to "sound" his guest as to his return to an official situation. We are told that the result was encouraging. We certainly should have preferred knowing the exact words, in which the great man shaped his gratitude for this demonstration of patronage. "Some expression which dropped," is a phrase that does not sound quite satisfactory. The Minister, however, was contented, and Mr. Pitt departed for Walmer.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Jan. 24, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I observe that I omitted to return you the enclosed as you had desired. Tom's letters are very little encouraging as to the present language of the only person who can remedy all the

* Lord Hawkesbury. † Lord Pelham.

mischief of the hour, even if he can. How can one think that these people are looking to war in any case, when one reads the contemptible paper they have published, declaring what their line is to be about Malta?

You see how Addington's revenue predictions have turned out, but you do not yet see the whole. It is clear that, unless he means to outface the evidence of figures, he must impose large additional taxes to meet this establishment.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

The First Consul was well informed of the state of parties in England, and was far from insensible of the advantage that might be derived from the incapacity and timidity of her present ministers. Knowing public opinion in this country as perfectly as in his own, he must have been well aware that the Peace of Amiens could endure but for a short time, and with this conviction he laboured to secure every position and resource that would enable him to commence the impending war with all the chances in his favour.

Bourrienne, who may be said to have been behind the scenes, affords a tolerably comprehensive idea of the preparations that were making there, to astonish the audience at the drawing up of the curtain. The Peace of Amiens was merely the interval between the acts, that allowed the labours of the machinist and scene-painter time for more effective development, and permitted the eminent tragedian an opportunity for recruiting his strength for the forthcoming prodigiously dramatic incident, on the effective performance of which the success of the play, and the player, depended.

The reasons put forward by M. Thiers for the dissatisfaction which the conditions of the Peace of Amiens created in England, are only to be quoted for their amusing opposition to facts. The English merchants were dissatisfied forsooth, because prohibitory regulations that affected British commerce were still maintained in France; and the English landowners and the middle-classes, because the peace brought them no advantage. Intense selfishness is with this singularly anti-British writer always the source of the opposition of England to Bonaparte's schemes of extended dominion at her expense. He seems to ignore the existence in this country of such a virtue as patriotism.

The apprehensions of Lord Grenville, for the security of the Cape, were groundless, as we have shown in a preceding page, but with a ministry so thoroughly enamoured of their treaty, were not unnatural.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Jan. 30, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I heard yesterday from a quarter which you will easily guess, a piece of intelligence which, in any other times, and under any other government than the present, would be decisive on the question of peace or war, and which, even as things now stand, I can hardly conceive to be compatible with the possibility of maintaining peace. It is no less than a demand made by France upon the Batavian government, for the gratuitous surrender of *their whole frontier*. Such is the phrase used in the letter received by my friend; and it is added that the resolution is taken to comply with this demand, and that Liston knows it.

It is under these circumstances that we shall be called to hear in a few weeks of the actual surrender of the Cape; and it is probable that this event, which is still a secret to the public here, will burst upon them nearly at the same time with that account. I should be sorry they heard it sooner. The government here will, I think, try some remonstrances; but if they should be treated with the same contempt as their famous message about Switzerland, shall not we then be asked, what is the remedy? and whether our ships can more easily sail up to Breda than to Zurich?

I hope you will not be later than the time you had named for coming to town. My own opinion, in which I find both Tom and Canning agree, strongly leans to our confining ourselves to one effort, in each house, perhaps on the subject of the Cape, and then, (without any thing like secession), declaring our intention of not attempting to impede the chance (if there be any) which parliament looks to from the execution of that system, which we felt it our duty to endeavour to dissuade them from adopting. But of this we will talk when we meet.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

The conduct of Mr. Pitt at this period greatly disappointed the Grenvilles—it was scarcely possible to indicate its exact purport, but unquestionably it had made the former diverge from the path along which they had conjointly proceeded. This left Lord Grenville unable to carry on anything like effective opposition to the Ministry, and therefore he found himself obliged to remain, to a certain extent, passive, till he could organise a party possessed of sufficient numbers, influence, and talent to press forward his policy. The ex-minister was evidently biding his time.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Feb. 1, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

It was with the greatest pain that I heard this morning from Lord Temple, that you had another attack of the same complaint you had when you were last in town. I really am not doctor enough to venture to advise you upon the subject of Bath, but if those on whose medical skill you rely, are satisfied that it will be of use to you, I cannot help pressing you not, in that case, to lose any time in going there. What is to be done in town is really nothing, if it were anything, it ought not to be put for one moment in competition with your doing without a moment's delay whatever is best for your health. But there really is so little prospect of our doing anything useful, that I am more and more satisfied our course should be to bring forward only the motions to which we are pledged, and then to take one general question (I think on the surrender of the Cape,) such as to allow of our stating the whole of our opinion, and after that to declare that the system of concession being decidedly adopted by the government, and sanctioned by the parliament, we mean, though without the slightest idea of what is called secession, to abstain from troubling the Houses uselessly on a point on which they have made up an opinion so contrary to that which we entertain. And after this to attend as little as we can, without giving our absence the appearance of secession, but to attend only on the questions brought forward by government on public business, and not on any motions of our own.

If we had met, I could have given you such reasons (founded in great part on Pitt's present conduct and disposition,) as would, I think, have satisfied you, that this is the best course for our own honour, and for taking the little chance there is of our being of any use to the public. But I really think the game is up, and that nothing will now rouse the

country short of actual invasion, which will probably not come till our means of resistance will have been frittered down almost to nothing.

In this state of things, my own stay in town will probably not exceed a fortnight at the utmost, and it would be little short of absolute madness for you to neglect or postpone, for one instant, anything that can be of the least service to your health, for the sake of coming to town to witness a little nearer this helpless and desperate scene.

I cannot at the same time help most earnestly pressing you to take the best advice that can be had, not merely upon this actual complaint, but upon the general state of your health, in which these repeated attacks clearly show that there must be something materially wrong.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Oxford Street, Feb. 15, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

As for the state of politics there is nothing in them that could detain me an hour here. I think you agree with us, that after having, in an open and manly way, stated our opinions on the great features of our present situation, it would very ill become both our characters and our principles, to afford the least foundation, by our conduct, to the falsehoods which both the government and Jacobins are daily circulating on our subject. A peevish harassing opposition on the details of business, when the principal points of policy are decided against us, could only disgrace ourselves, and give strength to government, without affording the least hope of public benefit.

It is too likely that the rapid progress of Bonaparte's ambition will but too soon call upon us again, not to renew our former objections against what is past, but to lay in fresh protestations against new loss and disgrace. And, at all events,

the news of the surrender of the Cape, when it arrives, must call upon us to expose and to condemn that sacrifice. Till then, it seems of extreme importance that we should all of us keep ourselves, as much as possible, unmixed with the squabbles which are arising in parliament.

You will see that something of this description is to come on next Monday respecting the Admiralty. An additional reason for our not mixing in this, is that we should by so doing only facilitate Lord Melville's appointment to that department—an idea which has been for some time matter of public conversation here, and to which the *annonce* in the "True Briton" to-day gives an authority little short of absolute certainty. What a scene of Scotch jobs it will be!

Pitt has the gout at Walmer. It must, therefore, still be some time before he can come to town. When he does come, he seems resolved to attend parliament, at least on the most important days, but what line he is to take when he does attend, I should deceive you and myself if I were even to attempt to guess. His dislike of the whole system of the present government, and *particularly of the finance measures* of this session is open and undisguised, avowed to all his friends, and by them spoken of without reserve. But he entertains very great apprehensions of any step that can overthrow the present system, which I feel pretty confident nothing but inevitable and declared war would induce him to replace by any government in which he bore any share.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

I have heard nothing from you about the other *arrangements* which were in discussion, and I could not (impatient as I am on the subject,) think of persecuting you on the subject during your illness. I fear from your silence that the projects which you told me were so near completion have not been realized, and that nothing else of the same nature can be made practicable—yet it

is certainly more necessary now than ever, and is made so still more by the contents of this letter.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO EARL TEMPLE.

March 10, 1803.

My dear Lord Temple,

I am sorry to find that the plague has pursued you into Hampshire, but I hope you will by this time have shaken it off from you and yours; I have not entirely escaped, but could not refuse to curiosity to wrap up the grippe in a great coat, in order to go and hear Addington yesterday upon the King's message. You will read in the papers better than I can tell you, how unanimous we were in voting an address, which on the one hand was not warranted by one word of information; but which on the other hand, as it pledged us to nothing, was on that account not a very valuable expression of the opinions of parliament at a juncture of so much general anxiety and alarm. The points which are said to be at issue between the two governments, are those of Malta and Honduras, upon both of which I doubt not but we shall ultimately give way after having made this ineffectual appearance of bully, which will serve only to signalize our disgrace; that Ministers cannot mean more seems to me plain enough, from the additional vote of seamen being to consist of 10,000 only—but still, whatever our Ministers mean, it is certainly very possible that even this shadow of resistance may rouse the Grand Consul into real hostility before our wise men shall have had time to prostrate themselves, and their country, at his feet in expiation of their offence. Our line has been, not to triumph in our predictions, or to insult our lovers of peace with the justice of our opposition to it—the public see this more strongly and more willingly from our not stating it ourselves.

Duke of Bridgewater* has left £30,000 per annum, landed

* Francis, third duke.

estate, and £400,000 money to Egerton, and the canal property which produced last year £60,000, to Lord Gower.

God bless you.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 10, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I have not escaped the prevailing malady, but it is a good deal gone by; and I determined, as you see by the papers, that it should no longer prevent me from hearing what Addington had to say upon the new event of these last two days. Our address was voted, as most of our measures now are, without one tittle of information, and most entirely upon confidence.

Great sensation has been generally made, by the sudden apparition of the ghost of war, in the midst of the supine enjoyment of profound peace, in which the stockholders were indulging themselves. I am, however, rather inclined to think that this step is meant by our Ministers as no more than an ostentation of vigour, on the credit of which they will vapour and bluster a little before they make the final concessions respecting Malta and Honduras, which, I suppose, to be the points now in question. Still, it is very possible that they may be disappointed in their calculation; and Bonaparte, if he believes we have actually evacuated the Cape, may not be disposed to indulge government in this innocent bravado, but may resent this appearance of opposition, and change that into serious hostility, which was not intended by our wise men to go farther than a harmless bully. That we do not mean to go farther is, I think, evident enough, from Addington proposing only to add 10,000 seamen, making, in the whole, 60 instead of 50,000, which is so small a difference, that I know not how in argument he can support this vote, as corresponding with his message, unless this vote shall quickly be followed up by another more extensive. Ten ships of the line, and sixteen frigates more,

are to be put in commission; but Sir A. Hammond* said this morning, it would be at least three months before they could be ready.

The town is full this morning of a report that Trowbridge† was in the city early on Monday morning, and sold out £40,000. His knowledge of the intended press, makes this so disgraceful a charge, that I heartily wish it were not true; but I have heard it so strongly asserted by those who say they know it of their own knowledge, that I fear it is too true. Lord St. Vincent is ill in his bed. I presume that you will approve of the line which we have taken, in neither triumphing nor enlarging upon this early and complete proof of all our predictions; the public does us better justice upon this subject, than if we were to demand it for ourselves.

Bonaparte continued his ill-concealed designs against this island—consuls were appointed at all the ports, but instead of possessing the usual consular qualifications, they were military men, most of them distinguished officers of engineers; and instructions were forwarded them, not only to spy out the nakedness of the land, but to send home information that could only be of value to an invading force. At the same time, Colonel Sebastiani, an officer of great talent, was sent to Syria, Egypt, and other countries in that part of the globe, among other objects to inquire what prospect for France there existed of conquering Egypt, and in what portion of her Indian territory England was most assailable. The true

* Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, first baronet. He died in 1806.

† Thomas, first baronet. Lost at sea in the 'Blenheim,' returning from the West Indies, 1807.

character of the pretended consuls having transpired, the English government had them all shipped back to their employer. The military commissioner had full and particular instructions, a great many places to visit, a great many compliments to pay. Tunis and Tripoli, Egypt and Syria, were to possess the benefit of his presence, and Turks, Mamelukes, Arab sheiks, and Syrian Christians were to be impressed with the extraordinary power of the First Consul, and his still more extraordinary regard for their happiness and prosperity. In addition to all this labour, he was to keep a watchful eye upon the English in Egypt—for though his apologist *ingeniously* states the First Consul had made up his mind to renounce his views in that quarter, if the government of England caused the Peace of Amiens to be respected, the rupture of which this mission proves that he anticipated, "he held himself at liberty to resume his ideas relative to a country which he still regarded as *the route to India.*"*

Colonel Sebastiani having completed his tour, on his return home, the First Consul published his report in the "Moniteur," which betrayed its source as much by the virulence of its libels upon British officers, as by the flattering representations of the influence of France in the East.

These warlike preparations and designs becoming known in England, created great excitement, and precautionary measures were immediately adopted by the English government. On the 8th of March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer delivered a message from the

* Thiers' "Consulat," Tome. I.

King to the House of Commons, calling attention to formidable armaments in the ports of France and Holland. On the same day, one of a similar character was presented to the House of Lords by Lord Hobart, who, on the following day, moved an address in reply, on which occasion, Lord Spencer forcibly expressed his opinion of the necessity for energetic measures for the security of the country. Lord Grenville, who had been more consistent in his views of the late peace, than any other peer, hailed the ministerial proposition as the first indication of sound political wisdom the government had exhibited, and accepted it as an acknowledgment of their having become aware of the consequences of a system of concession and weakness. He expressed a hope that they would now act with energy and perseverance; the last eighteen months having afforded abundant evidence that a renewal of the war was inevitable.

The Earl of Moira also made a very spirited speech, in the course of which he censured Ministers for their apparent servility to the First Consul. He had no notion, he said, of talking any longer in the complimentary style, with this new Hannibal, who had sworn on the altar of his ambition a deadly and eternal enmity to England. Lords Westmoreland and Auckland were equally warlike. On the same day, in the House of Commons, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved an address intimating the expediency of adopting additional measures of precaution; and Fox, Wyndham, Canning, and Thomas Grenville, though they complained of the paucity of information, furnished to the House by Ministers, gave their cordial

support to the address. Fox alone referred to the calamities of war, and indicated the responsibility of the government should such evils be brought on this country by their counsels.

The next day, another royal message was sent, recommending the immediate embodying of the militia. Everything deemed requisite was voted without a division, and England gave unmistakeable signs of readiness to accept the challenge she had received.

This warlike activity increased the hostility of Bonaparte. Nothing seemed to excite him so much as the plain unvarnished language in which his schemes were exposed on this side the Channel. Though he had frequent recourse to the most influential journal in France to abuse England and everything English, he could not endure with patience any unfavourable reflections from our writers. One, a Frenchman by the way, he prosecuted in one of our courts of justice, for advocating opinions respecting him not half so libellous as a hundred attacks upon Englishmen that had appeared in Paris with his sanction; many, it is believed, from his pen. The masterly defence of Pelletier by Sir James Mackintosh put a complete check upon Bonaparte's taste for prosecutions in England, but it greatly aggravated his sensibility to English opinion; and when the intelligence reached him of the warlike messages of the King to his parliament, and the spirited measures that had ensued, his irritation could scarcely be controlled.

We had at Paris, in Lord Whitworth, an ambassador admirably adapted for such a post, at such a time; and the

qualifications they demanded belonged to the highest rank of diplomacy. With the elements of strife abounding in both countries, it was a position that demanded singular delicacy, imperturbable coolness, and the highest courage. He was necessarily in frequent communication with one of the craftiest politicians of an unscrupulous school—Talleyrand—who expended all his subtlety in vain attempts to obtain advantages for his master, which his master had evidently determined, in some way or other, to secure. Their diplomacy was totally different, because derived from entirely opposite sources; but the subtlety of one was powerless against the straightforward integrity of the other. Groundless complaints were met by substantial wrongs, and indefinite promises by pledges unperformed.

Bonaparte entertained no slight opinion of his own diplomatic powers; and finding that Talleyrand was not making the required impression upon the English ambassador, he sent for him privately, to try what he could do in the way of negotiation. More than once he had obtained no slight advantage by a personal interview with a plenipotentiary; and with the recollection of these successes, he received Lord Whitworth into his cabinet. They sat down at each end of the same table, and then for two hours, Bonaparte addressed his visitor in a rambling harangue, delivered with great energy, ranging from complaints to threats, from threats to explanations, and from explanations to promises. Now insisting upon the evacuation of Malta, then denouncing the English press; at one moment denying any intention of making war, in the next asserting his readiness to bring army

after army for the invasion of England; and finally concluding with a sort of proposition for the King to share with him all the advantages that could be obtained by the union of his fleets with the 480,000 men he was preparing to bring into the field.

When Lord Whitworth found himself permitted to speak, he disposed of the promises first, by expressing his master's disinclination to participate in any continental conquests, his Majesty being quite content with his own possessions. The complaint against the newspapers elicited a reference to the publication of Sebastiani's report, and that of the non-evacuation of Malta was about to be met by a recital of various French encroachments and accessions of territory, when Bonaparte interrupted the speaker rudely by an assertion that, as they must have been foreseen by the English government, when the treaty of Amiens was in progress, the ambassador had no right now to refer to them. Without noticing this, Lord Whitworth calmly proceeded to justify the proceedings of his government, and put forward its various causes of complaint against that of France; when Bonaparte, finding that he was losing ground in the conference, as well as patience, hastily rose, saying he would give orders to his ambassador in London, General Andreossi, to enter upon this discussion.* On the 10th of March, an official note

* After describing this scene, as only M. Thiers could describe it, the historian of the "Consulate" remarks upon Bonaparte's singular oration: "This language, so extraordinary for its frankness, surprised and agitated the English ambassador, who, unfortunately, though a very honest man, was *not capable of appreciating the loftiness and the sincerity of the words of the First Consul.*"

was delivered by Andreossi to Lord Hawkesbury, containing an expression of astonishment at the continued occupation of Malta by British troops, and demanding explanations and categorical replies to certain questions. At this stage of the proceedings, the following letters were written:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, March 12, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I did not write to you on the subject of the King's message, and its consequences, because, till yesterday, I knew little more of it than the papers will have told you; and what I heard yesterday, I was unwilling to write by the post. F****'s going to you, gives me the opportunity of writing to you with more freedom. A friend, whose name I do not write, but of my intercourse with whom you are not ignorant, communicated to me yesterday some particulars from which I perceive that the immediate cause of the present bustle, is a discussion about Malta. It is a little more than a month ago, that Talleyrand asked Lord Whitworth an explanation as to our views on that place; adding, that as the new Grand Master would immediately be elected, we should no longer have any pretence for delaying the evacuation, which was necessary to the complete execution of the treaty. Lord Whitworth answered him, that he had no instructions on the subject; but that he would write home and ask. Upon this, after a little delay, he is answered by an elaborate dispatch, stating all the reasons why we might claim to retain Malta; particularly that it had been established by a formal note during the negotiations for the last peace; that the basis of the treaty was to be compensating England, by colonial acquisitions, for the accession of power which France had acquired on the

continent; (an object, to be sure, most admirably fulfilled, by our keeping Ceylon and Trinidad.) But the dispatch goes on to state, that notwithstanding all these reasons (which are so elaborately detailed, as to make it evident that this is the first time they have ever been stated to Lord Whitworth, or to the French government,) we are so desirous of peace, that we should have been willing to discuss this subject with France, if it had not been for Sebastiani's report—the publication of which must be considered as official—and the nature of which made it impossible that we should talk about Malta, till we had received due satisfaction on the subject of that report; and there the matter is left. Not the least intimation what sort of satisfaction they required; not the least hint what their views really were about Malta; not the smallest intimation to Lord Whitworth as to the tendency of the language he was to hold, if he saw any disposition to treat upon the subject.

These omissions do not, however, in fact, appear to have been very material. Lord Whitworth delivers his message to Talleyrand; the latter tells him Andreossi shall be instructed to converse upon the subject, and then the thing rests; when suddenly Lord Whitworth receives an invitation to come to the Great Consul. He goes there, and finds His Serenity in a most foaming passion; and in a tirade (rather than a conversation) of two hours, is told, that the Consul is determined we shall not stay any longer in Malta; that he had rather see us in the Faubourg St. Antoine than in Malta; that our object is to keep him out of Egypt; that he will have Egypt; that the French Republic must have Egypt; and will have it, either by force, or by an arrangement with the Porte. That if we will be quiet, and go out of Malta, he does not want to go to war with us. Absolute master of forty-eight millions of men, he has much to lose, and nothing to gain, by war; but, if we refuse, he will make a war of extermination against us. He will put himself at the head of his army, and invade us; and though he may lose all

his ships, his enterprise will succeed. I cannot remember half the extravagances that accompanied all this, but I give you the essential part.

This dispatch must have arrived here the 26th or 27th of February. They must have taken near a week to deliberate about it, for it was not till the Saturday that they signed the press warrants.

In this state of things you see the government hardly know what they are themselves about, for they have not yet (incredible as it sounds) began to discuss the question of Malta with Bonaparte, though they have surrendered up everything else to him. Their object evidently was to shuffle the thing off as long as they could, and to avoid, to the last moment, the necessity of taking any decision about it. And this is the reason why this thing has now taken them so unprepared, because they calculated upon being able to negotiate for a month or two about Malta, and then thought they might, during the recess of parliament, concede as much as ever they chose, or rather, as much as Bonaparte chose.

His passion has prevented this; and yet I doubt whether he is quite ready. His speculation, therefore, is that we shall now be soothed again by some vague promises about Malta, and kept in this state, incurring a great expense, but making no efforts at all adequate to the real necessity of the case, till about two months hence the blow burst upon us. From intelligence which seems hardly questionable, I hear that this is the period to which Bonaparte looks, and that he is then to attack Great Britain and Ireland together.

It is painful to be penned up like sheep in a fold, under the management of half-a-dozen men whose incapacity for the most ordinary affairs all the world acknowledges, and to know that we have no other resource against the destruction which is preparing for us, but in their wisdom. But so it is.

Pitt is still at Walmer. Messengers of all descriptions are

going continually to him to bring him up. The prevailing opinion is, that he will come up next week, but I really can venture no conjecture. He has hampered himself to such a degree by his support of measures which he so totally disapproved, that I really hardly see what he has to do, and am glad that the decision is not with me. And yet, in him is and must be all our hope. As for us, our line happily has been direct and straight, and our way is clear before us; but this, though it is matter of personal satisfaction to ourselves, is nothing as to the state of the country, which I, who am generally pretty sanguine, really begin to consider as desperate. Such have been the effects of two years folly?

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

March 15, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

Never was there a moment of so much anxiety and apprehension upon public affairs, with so little either of real information or probable grounds of speculation, by which to lead one's opinion on to any conclusion. All the language of Ministers and their followers is certainly contrived for the purpose of creating a belief that no real rupture will ensue; on the other hand, every circumstance which accident or enquiry has brought to my knowledge, would lead me to believe that war is almost inevitable. The language which you see quoted in the newspapers as having passed in conversation between the Consul and Lord Whitworth, is now almost publicly acknowledged by Ministers to have actually passed, but they endeavour to lessen the force of this impression by stating this as the mere violence of momentary passion which will have passed away without farther consequences. If, however, it be true that what we are now contending against, is an expedition of 14,000 men, well equipped and officered, whom the Consul is embarking for Pondicherry, upon that point

our Ministers dare not give way, and unless Bonaparte does, it must be war.

I was assured yesterday that Fox said, he had not believed in the first report of war; but that he now thought it inevitable.

Lord Melville is come, and there are dumb rumours of his having the Admiralty, to which some people add the Ordnance for Lord Moira, and Lord Chatham for Ireland; but Lord Chatham's friends say that nothing would induce him to go there; and I heartily hope they have good grounds for that opinion.

There is a ballot and call on Thursday next, or I would fain have persuaded William to go down with me to Bath for three or four days; but I see that his great difficulty is in the apprehension that at these critical moments, it is more prudent not to be absent from London. I am afraid therefore this project must stand by, though I will still endeavour to resume it, if your stay at Bath be as long as it ought to be, and as I wish it to be. I own to you, I have no patience to hear that any notions about the militia should for a moment interfere with the important considerations of your health; and I do heartily hope that you will feel, as both William and I do, the absolute necessity of your taking this opportunity to resign that charge of colonel of militia to your son, and content yourself with being in your natural post at the head of the county yeomanry. You are in the fullest sense of the word *miles emeritus*; your health is no longer equal to the possible exertions which may be demanded from a military life in these times; and, in the worst of dangers, your domestic superintendence of the large county where your influence prevails, would be infinitely more valuable and practicable, than the duty of colonel of militia could be. Your son is not only ready for this undertaking, but I am persuaded it would be highly grateful to him, and his present notions seem to promise great alacrity and zeal in the pursuit of it.

We shall presently show the value of the statements referred to in the next letter, respecting Mr. Pitt, who remained passively at Bath, while the leading politicians of both parties were waiting for some demonstration of his opinions at this crisis. The post-office, at this period, from the frequent allusions that occur in the Grenville correspondence, to the insecurity of letters, had no scruples, and the violation of a private seal seems to have been almost a matter of course.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, March 18, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I write with less freedom, because I have recently had a hint of some transactions of Mr. Freeling, or his principal, which should put us on our guard. But I have no objection to its being known to either of them, that I know with certainty the contents of a paper in six articles, (I call it a paper for it had no official form of any kind,) which Bonaparte delivered to Whitworth on receiving the account of the armament. It is as contemptuous as the conduct of our government has deserved; and *c'est tout dire.*

It begins with saying, that as to the French armament in Holland, all the world knows that it was meant for America, but now since we have thought proper to take this sort of notice of it, he will not let it sail there, (you will remember that the particular point which Addington said would be the test of war or peace, was whether it did sail or not,) so that this is in fact a distinct declaration of war. But, lest this should not be enough, he adds that if we continue our armament, he will immediately march 20,000 men into Holland, occupy Switzerland with a French army, send a fleet to take possession of the

Bay of Naples, and put the French army on the war establishment, which, he says, will disquiet all Europe. And lastly, he concludes by saying, that he does not suppose the English ministers so ignorant as not to know that an armament in this country cannot possibly make the smallest change in his determination to have the treaty of Amiens executed in all its points, which is (being interpreted) his resolution to have Malta and Egypt at all events.

If you ask me what Ministers are doing at the present crisis, I sincerely believe the true answer is nothing. Nothing to strengthen the country—nothing to augment our force (which is much smaller than your letter supposes it)—and nothing even to strengthen themselves. On this last point, there are different versions, but I believe this to be the true one. They are circulating, with great industry, that Pitt advises and approves all these measures; and Pitt's friends are with no less industry, declaring to all the world, that he has no communication whatever with them.

Now let me add my earnest solicitations to Tom's that you would consider thirty years of militia service, of which near twenty have been in war, as fairly discharging your debt, on this score, to the country. Your health is just beginning to be re-established. It is not, and it cannot be equal to the fatigue which the formation of the regiment anew will necessarily require, and still less to the details of anything like real service. You may and ought, at your period of life, to do as so many others have done, and put into younger hands a business for which younger hands are so much better suited, and to content yourself with putting yourself at the head of our yeomanry, which a very small comparative exertion on your part might render extremely useful to the purposes to which it can be applied. But it is really not fair towards your family or yourself to ruin your health by doing what might so well be left to your son.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, March 22, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

All the accounts which I hear are of a nature not to leave the smallest doubt of war. Indeed, I think our government have so contrived things, that it is hardly possible for Bonaparte himself to recede, had he the wish to do so. The only real support of his power in France is, the influence he possesses with a part of the army, and the opinion in that country, that he is powerful and respected in Europe. If he now suffers himself to be intimidated by our preparations, he must lose all consideration both at home and abroad; and, in truth, he has not much to fear from us.

Lord Melville is gone down to Pitt, and is to be back on Monday. My guess is, that he will bring back with him what he will represent as an earnest exhortation to lend his assistance to these blockheads. That they cannot go on without some assistance, all the world seems now to feel; but where they are to look for it, seems less certain. If they take in Lord Melville, as their sole dependence, it is easy enough to see that ten days will not elapse before he becomes their master.

I rejoice to hear so favourable an account of your health; and that satisfaction is greatly augmented by the prospect of your discharging yourself of the fatigue of the militia, to which it was impossible not to feel that you must have been unequal.

Bonaparte has notified to the Neapolitan minister at Paris, that if we go to war with him, he will invade Naples. I suppose a similar communication has been made at Lisbon; and that Prussia and he will make some similar disposition of Hanover.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

It is inconceivable that in a state of so much real danger here and in Ireland, there should appear so little sense of it.

Since I began this letter, I have learnt exactly how the discussion (if such it can be called,) now stands. Upon receiving the account of our armament, Bonaparte sent for Whitworth, and held to him the language which I mentioned to you, and put into his hands the sort of paper I described. Andreossi was, at the same time, ordered to deliver a note here, claiming the evacuation of Malta, conformably to the treaty. To this, Lord Hawkesbury has returned an elaborate answer, consisting chiefly in a repetition of the same topics as are urged in his dispatch to Whitworth. First, the principle of the actual state of possession in Europe, after the treaty of Amiens, as that to which the parties to that treaty were bound; secondly, reciting all the breaches of this principle on the part of France, as things which would have justified the King in refusing to proceed in the execution of the treaty; thirdly, but notwithstanding this, the King has executed all but Malta, and would have been ready to do this as far as possible; fourthly, the literal execution of the article about Malta is impracticable, because of the defect of the stipulated guarantees, and the suppression of the Spanish and other *langues*; fifthly, but that we should have been ready to agree about a new arrangement, to carry into effect the spirit of the article; if, sixthly, Sebastiani's report had not appeared, which contains things offensive to the King, &c., and indicates views on Egypt; and, therefore, lastly, that the King *cannot evacuate Malta* (these are nearly the words) *till some substantial security shall be provided for those objects, which that evacuation, made under the present circumstances, would endanger.*

An answer has been received to Andreossi's letter inclosing this note, by which Talleyrand merely acknowledges its receipt; and promises further instructions. These are expected to-morrow or Thursday, and *voilà ou nous en sommes.* Think of resting the whole grounds of a war on Sebastiani's report.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, March 29, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I have just heard what I believe to be a pretty accurate account of the substance of the answer received yesterday from Bonaparte. It is, I understand, drawn up in a very acrimonious style. It disclaims all ground for jealousy on our part respecting the armament, our information on which it pronounces to be totally erroneous. It vindicates the publication of Sebastiani's report as necessary in order to refute the calumnies of Sir Robert Wilson's work, and to prove that Bonaparte is as much respected in the East, as he is idolized in France, which is perhaps pretty nearly true; and it concludes that France does not take up the gauntlet we have thrown down (for entering, I suppose, into abuse and recrimination), but that, as to Malta, the treaty of Amiens sufficiently provides for its own execution, and admits of no further discussion on that point; and so, as I am told, it concludes. But whether, in addition to the refusal of all discussion about Malta, it does or does not renew the formal demand for its instant evacuation, my informant could not tell me. On this point may probably depend the question whether we shall be at war this week or the next; but that we shall be so very shortly indeed there can now be no doubt.

In this state, the government has at length felt its own imbecility, and Addington has, through Lord Melville, sent a sort of overture to Pitt. I have some reason to believe that his answer has been that, while things remain in this suspense, he can enter into no discussion of the sort; but that, if the country should be at war, and if the King should express to him any wish for his services, it will then be his duty to consider in what manner he can best contribute any assistance in his power to the public safety.

In this state of things, I am going down to Walmer to-morrow

or the next day. I shall not, probably, stay above two or three days, and will write to you from thence, or immediately as soon as I come back.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

Lord Grenville was perfectly right in his opinion, that the First Consul was not quite ready to commence the conflict he was hastening; and that, consequently, the present unsettled state of affairs would be made to last as long as possible. No genteel comedy was ever written or played, with scenes so artfully constructed, as those now in course of performance in Paris, by Bonaparte and Talleyrand. Their object was to delay the departure of the English ambassador, till several hundred valuable ships, on their homeward voyage, had got safe to port, and till comprehensive military arrangements could be completed. The Consul, however, could not restrain his Corsican irritability in the presence of Lord Whitworth; and at a *levée*, on the 13th of March, attacked him rudely in the presence and hearing of, at least, two hundred persons. His violence was met by dignified calmness on the part of the outraged ambassador, on whom his studied menaces had no visible effect.* Talleyrand for a few days kept out of sight; and then, by way of apology for his master,

* The historian of the "Consulate," though he ventures some slight objections to the conduct of Bonaparte on this occasion, considers that the English ought to bear the odium of it because it was caused by their retention of Malta. "They ought to have been left to bear the odium of the act without the First Consul incurring that arising from violated forms. But galled as he was, *he took a sort of pleasure in making the thunders of his wrath reverberate to the extremities of the earth.*"

assured Lord Whitworth that the First Consul considered himself to have been insulted by the English government, and, in consequence, felt obliged to show his sense of such treatment in the presence of the representatives of the different powers of Europe. Various propositions were now brought before the attention of the ambassador, forwarded by his own government, or advanced by that of France. England offered terms of an arrangement to retain Malta, to which the reader will find references in the correspondence. One day a provisional occupation was required, till Lampedusa, a neighbouring island, could be prepared to exchange as a naval station; now Joseph Bonaparte was brought forward to play his part in the comedy, but with no result, beyond adding to the delay. Lord Whitworth expressed a desire to have his passports, which brought forth fresh attempts at negotiation; but of a perfectly delusive character. Day followed day, and week succeeded week; the negotiation not advancing a step; the passports were not forthcoming; and Talleyrand was never to be found when required. At last, he made his appearance, and proposed the cession of Malta *for a consideration.* The nature of this consideration, however, could not be extracted from him; and on the 12th of May, Lord Whitworth's frequent demand for his passports were attended to, and he left Paris immediately.

Lord Holland has left some curious memoranda illustrative of these events. He says that M. Gallois, who drew up the report on the peace, and was greatly esteemed by Bonaparte, was sent for after Lord Whitworth had quitted Paris, and was addressed by the First Consul with "*Eh*

bien ! l'Angleterre, veut absolument, la guerre. Elle la veut." He then laid before M. Gallois the whole negotiation, and pressed him to give his opinion. This was, that "England might have done more to preserve peace, but that France had not done all she ought to obtain it."* If M. Gallois made this admission, it is quite as much as he could have ventured upon in such company; and, properly interpreted, is a justification of the English government, and a censure of his own. Lord Holland then proceeds to state, that the First Consul answered, that he had already dispatched another messenger to catch Lord Whitworth, and "*de faire cette dernière tentative*," which the author explains in a note, meant permission for England to preserve Malta, on condition that she should use her influence with the King of Sicily for the cession of Tarento, Otranto, and one other port to France. A Genevese named Hubert, was the bearer of this ultimatum. It was rejected.

Lord Holland was so extremely credulous, and so enthusiastic in his admiration of Napoleon, that we instinctively receive with reserve the evidence he offers, when he comes forward as a witness. In this instance, he appears to have obtained his information from M. Gallois, probably some time subsequently to the event referred to, when mistakes were easy, and mis-statements almost unavoidable; and these, probably, when left to the care of his lordship's recollection, were undesignedly exaggerated. What follows in the narrative, though put forward as a charge of unprovoked hostility to France, on the part of England

* "Foreign Reminiscences," p. 233.

and the continental powers, is, in reality, an admission that Bonaparte seized this as a favourable opportunity for re-commencing war, with a design of totally destroying the nationalities to which he was opposed.

In the annual *exposé* of the state of the French republic which the First Consul had just published, one of its most prominent features was a reference to the state of political parties in England, in which the Grenvilles were held up to execration, as a party that had sworn implacable hatred to France. But this was not the only specimen of bad taste in this composition. The author would not be at the slightest pains to conceal the animus with which he regarded every indication in this country of opposition to his cherished schemes—oblivious of the unquestionable truth, that had England entertained such schemes, his hostility to them would have been infinitely more violent—and ventured to express his animosity in the following taunt: "Be the success of the intrigue what it will in London, *it will not drag other nations into new coalitions;* and government asserts with just pride that *England, single-handed, is unable to cope with France.*" Even his inexhaustible apologist, M. Thiers, appears to consider such language inexcusable. The studied insult produced a powerful impression in England; an impression that, no doubt, led to the refutation of both statements.

Sir Archibald Alison has ventured to approve of the treaty of Amiens, for reasons which it can scarcely be necessary to repeat, as, in a subsequent page, he approves still more warmly of its rupture.*

* "Such being the evident design of the First Consul, as it has now been

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 30th March, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

The fall of the stocks yesterday is now imputed to a Monsieur Lamotte, who is a great French broker here, and who, by selling out very largely, is supposed to have created the alarm which depressed the funds. It is likewise added that the arrival of a bye-boat had given to Lamotte the information upon which he acted; but for the truth of this latter circumstance I cannot vouch. Upon the whole, however, it is manifest that the general opinion leans to the belief of war; and Lord G.'s visit to Walmer is already quoted as a strong confirmation of this opinion.

It should seem, by what I hear, that government is, upon their little scale, and according to the measure of their talents, making exertions for preparation; but the land recruiting service is, I believe, very flat, and the naval supplies are still very spare. There have already been symptoms of the renewal of meetings, &c.; in Ireland; but those who are responsible, upon this subject are satisfied that they possess such sure sources of information as to every step that stirs, that they are confident against the possibility of anything happening there for which they shall be unprepared. I heartily hope that their confidence is well founded, but I cannot say it inspires me with any strong

developed by time, and admitted by himself, there can be but one opinion among all impartial persons as to the absolute necessity of resuming hostilities, if not in 1803, at least at no distant period, and preventing the formidable increase in his resources during that interval of peace, which, with him, was ever but the time of preparation for a more formidable future attack, and might have been made instrumental in depriving Great Britain of all the security which she enjoyed from her insular situation and long-established maritime superiority." — *History of Europe*, Vol. V., p. 287.

notions of security. The English militia is to be brigaded as soon as it is enrolled, and collected, sufficiently for that purpose, which, I am told, will very soon be the case. I rejoice in hearing that when this event takes place, which will, of course, move them from their counties, you will then give charge of the Royal Bucks to younger legs and arms, and reserve your own talents and influence for those numerous objects of importance to which, in public danger, they are so applicable. Pray tell Lord Temple that I shall attend the House to-morrow; and if his certificate is sent to the Speaker, I presume there will be no difficulty of any kind about it. I who am the Brutus upon these subjects must sacrifice my sons, if I had them, to the execution of the Committee Bill; but I hope it will not be necessary for me, in his instance, to say, "Ito, Lictor, deliga ad palum."

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE, M.P., TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Exchequer, March 31, 1803.

My Lord,

I have waited a few days to answer your letter, in hopes of being able to send you some news in this very interesting moment; but every day furnishes such variety of stories, and so little of truth, that it is impossible to relate anything that can be depended upon. Undoubtedly, the general impression of public affairs is equally gloomy as your Lordship's, and there seems no doubt the present administration are endeavouring to strengthen themselves by new arrangements. That this will be difficult, is most obvious, and, in case of failure, the responsibility with which they have charged themselves, is much beyond their powers of answering. Mr. Addington's duplicity upon finance, or rather the false grounds of security which he held out to the monied interest, has ruined him in the city. Lord Melville's coalition

may give abilities to the Ministry, but not much greater confidence, and little additional strength. Mr. Pitt's coalition will be understood as the signal of war, in the same manner as would Lord Grenville's. This may perhaps be unfounded, but it is the general impression. Under all these circumstances, I am fully persuaded that every exertion will be made by the King to retain Mr. Addington, and for many other reasons which are as much, and more within your Lordship's knowledge than mine.

Lord Camelford is gone to France, and, I understand, was apprehended the moment of his arrival at Calais. He had been before ordered out of France, under penalty of return, and it is in consequence of the former order, that he was seized. Poor Lady Camelford, I understand, is ignorant of it.

At a great dinner which the Prince of Wales gave to the old Opposition the other day, the name of Mr. Pitt was mentioned, and Fox pronounced the highest eulogium upon him.

You may depend upon my giving every attention to the duties of the Exchequer, which I constantly do when in town. Astle's father is much better, and likely to recover this attack.

P.S. I suppose you know young Neville, Lord Braybrooke's son, is captain in the Berkshire.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 5, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I am glad to hear that you talk of continuing at Bath till the 18th, because, while it continues to agree with you, it is a pity not to give it a fair and full chance in point of time. The account of Lady Chatham's death, makes me think with real uneasiness of the desolate state of poor Mrs. Stapleton; it would be very amiable in you, near as you are to Burton, to send a kind note over to her, and press her to

come for a few days to Bath; I doubt whether she will stir, but whether she does or no, it will be felt by her as an act of kindness, and to do her any kindness, after so much of our early days was passed with her, will I know do you pleasure as well as her. The Dowager Lady Williams has died this morning; she was I believe of the same year with Lady Chatham. I am told that Lord Chatham is confined by the gout; of his brother I expect to hear this evening when I see William, who is to arrive to-day. I take for granted that Pitt will not go to Burton, as the last that I heard of his intentions was that, he would be at Long's, at Bromley, about Saturday. What he means, however, as to this and as to other subjects, I expect to hear to-night, and take for granted that William will write to you the contents of his report from Walmer, or as much of them as is fit to be entrusted to the post. If there is more to be communicated than the post can bear, I will recommend to him to write by the coach, and give you notice of his having done so.

I hear no news other than that the stock account of to-day will be full of failure. The public distrust in the present government would be more loudly shown, if there was not a very universal conviction that some change is now in agitation.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Tuesday, April 12, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

As we shall meet so soon, I will now only say, that I have nothing to say, having neither seen nor heard from any body since I came down here. Lord Spencer leaves me to-day, but Tom will stay here till Friday, when you will certainly find me here, except in the one case, that my host should write to desire

me to meet him in town to give a final answer. Should this happen, of course I cannot decline to go, as, whatever the decision may be, there will evidently be no time to lose. Still, however, you may depend on finding a dinner and bed here; and as you will then be so near town, I shall hope (should this be the case) that you will give us one day there.

It is, however, much more likely that you will find me here very peaceably rolling my walks, and watering my rhododendrons, without any thought of the new possessor to whom Bonaparte may dispose them.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 7, 1803.

I have just received your letter, my dearest brother, and cannot enough tell you the sincere pleasure which I had in seeing how much more rapidly your kindness had moved to the relief of our poor old friend than would have belonged to my tardy suggestions upon the subject. There is an activity in your good heart, when it moves to assist those who are in affliction or distress, which outstrips all those who would run that race with you. I could not resist giving to my dear Charlotte to partake of the pleasure which your letter had given me, although you charged me to do otherwise.

Pitt's intention was to come to Long's on Saturday, where, probably, that day or the next, he was to see Addington. I know not whether the loss of Lady Chatham will alter that part of his intentions, but I presume not.

William is gone to Dropmore with Lady G. till Tuesday next. I shall go there with Lord Spencer on Saturday or Sunday for a day, and would go on to Bath, but that, in the present moment, it seems, for reasons that you may guess, more prudent that I

should not be so distant from London, if communications are wanted which I may assist.

Lord G. promised to forward to you a letter by the mail-coach, to inform you, at length, of what he has told me.

The "True Briton" of to-day, is more acrimonious than ever against the *factious bloodhounds,* and that symptom is descriptive enough of what is wished in that quarter.

God bless you, dearest brother.

P.S.—The public makes no doubt of war since Bonaparte's *manifesto* from Hamburg; but I hear no new news.

At the height of the political fever which was then raging, the Marquis of Buckingham appears to have been intent upon his militia duties, his attention to which, as their letters have indicated, elicited urgent remonstrances from his brothers.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, April 7, 1803.

My dear Lord,

I postponed answering your letter of Friday, until I could speak to the Duke of York* upon the subject of it, and am now to inform you, that he sees no objection to the whole of the county of Buckingham being placed in the London district. I am by no means inclined to extend the volunteer system so far as to be productive of serious inconvenience to the militia service; but I am inclined to think that, in the great towns, and populous manufacturing districts, corps might be established upon a permanent footing, for which considerable advantage might be derived at all times, but which, in case of war suddenly breaking out, would

* His Royal Highness held the post of Commander-in-Chief.

be the means of accelerating that extended system of arming which, with such a power as France to contend against, must be indispensably necessary to our security. Under this impression, I will trouble you to turn in your mind what measures it may be advisable to take in your county, and shall be happy to be apprized as soon as may be convenient.

With best compliments to Lady Buckingham,

Believe me to be most truly yours,

HOBART.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, April 13, 1803.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

As parliament meets next Tuesday, I must of course go to town on Monday; but, if I find no more call to remain there than I expect, I shall be extremely anxious to get back again here as soon as possible, and for as long as possible. But this depends upon so many uncertainties, both of public affairs, and as to what is passing in Oxford Street, that I cannot at this time form any conjecture where I shall be towards the end of next week. If, however, I have not seen you before, I will certainly write to you on Tuesday from town, directed to Avington, and will then fix to meet you here, if possible, and if not, in town.

I have not heard a word of the conferences of Bromley, and in all other respects I am perfectly ignorant of all that is passing, or that has passed since I wrote to you.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

I write to you from this place by the Maidenhead bag which leaves to-day, but you cannot depend on your answer reaching me by the same channel. It is best, therefore, to direct as usual by Beaconsfield.

On the 22nd of March, Lord Melville repeated to Mr. Addington the result of his embassy to Walmer. A proposal to place Mr. Pitt's brother, the Earl of Chatham (subsequently the hero of Walcheren), at the head of government, was promptly negatived—Mr. Pitt making the negotiator clearly understand that the government wanted him as its director, and that he wanted the government. On Lord Melville's return to town, Mr. Addington was further apprised that Mr. Pitt expected his "friend and successor" to quit his position along with his policy and party, with no higher recompense for himself than the creation of a new post—Speaker of the House of Lords. For his coadjutors, no terms were offered; the higher offices of the government were wanted for certain friends of Mr. Pitt—to wit, Lord Grenville, Mr. Wyndham, Lord Spencer, and Lord Melville.

The existing Minister was, or affected to be, extremely astonished at the prospect of so early a termination to his dignity. He communicated with his friend, hoping that he would not feel it necessary to adhere, in its full extent, to the proposition. Mr. Pitt's reply left no room for hope, and then his friend and successor took the opinion of the Cabinet, which he announced to Mr. Pitt on the 14th of April, as averse to the proposed change. A reply of the same date, with marked brevity, acknowledged this communication; and on the following day he wrote again, expressing his ideas at length, and a desire to close the correspondence. Mr. Addington, having taken counsel with some of his colleagues, now wrote a very long reply, quoting Mr. Pitt against Mr. Pitt, and intimating

that his friend and successor, his policy and party, were determined to stay where they were. Mr. Pitt sent an answer on the 21st equally resolute, desiring that the entire correspondence should be submitted to the King, to which Mr. Addington replied, assuring him that this would be done.*

The course taken by Lord Grenville throughout the course of the last three or four months of excitement, is so fully described in his own narrative, that apparently little need be added in the way of explanation or illustration; but it forms too important a feature in the political history of this interesting period to be passed over—indeed, no paper in this collection deserves more earnest attention.

LORD GRENVILLE'S NARRATIVE.

1803.

About the 21st or 22nd of March, Lord Melville came down to Mr. Pitt at Walmer, and delivered to him a sort of message from Mr. Addington, which Lord Melville said he had undertaken to convey, without adding to it any comment or opinion of his own. This message, after abundant professions of friendship, contained in substance an offer that, if Mr. Pitt was willing to give to the country, in the present arduous crisis, the benefit of his services, Mr. Addington would agree that Mr. Pitt and himself should each of them be named one of the Secretaries of State (N.B. I have since heard that, as an alternative, Mr. Pitt was to be Chancellor of the Exchequer), with a third person, agreeable to Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, which person, Lord Melville afterwards explained to Mr. Pitt, was proposed to be Lord

* The correspondence is preserved in the "Life of Lord Sidmouth," by his son-in-law.

Chatham. Mr. Pitt treated this extravagant idea as it deserved, and Lord Melville wrote to Mr. Addington from Walmer a letter, of which Mr. Pitt showed me the copy, observing, at the same time, that the original draft of it had been made by Lord Melville, and had not otherwise been altered by Mr. Pitt, except by leaving out many general expressions of regard and good wishes with which it had been filled, and which Mr. Pitt thought liable to misinterpretation, and by substituting in their room some of the most precise of the declarations which it contained in the shape in which it was sent.

Its contents were nearly these:—1. That Mr. Pitt had no desire to resume his office, but was as much disposed as ever to support the government, provided that they acted on those principles of foreign and domestic policy which he thought essential. 2. But that he had seen with concern and disapprobation many of the late measures, both as to foreign politics and as to finance; and that nothing but the present crisis of the country restrained him at this time from expressing in public his sentiments on the latter of these two points. 3. That if he could entertain at all the idea of returning to office, it could only be in the belief that under the present dangers his services were thought useful both by the King, and by all those with whom he might be to act. 4. That in that case he saw no prospect of being useful except by resuming the direction of the finances. 5. That he must besides declare that he judged it impossible that the public service could be carried on, unless there was, as before, at the head of the government a person understood to possess, without rivalry or competition, the general direction of affairs, and the chief place in the confidence of the King—a system which he had found by the most satisfactory experience to be by no means incompatible with the most cordial co-operation and confidence between such person and his colleagues, placed in situations of high trust and dignity. And, lastly, that, independently of these considerations, he did not think that the present suspense, as to the result of the nego-

tiations, which are to decide on peace or war, was a fit moment for resuming his situation.

Lord Melville having sent his answer which he showed in general a disposition to soften as much as possible, returned to town the 24th. During his stay, he discussed with Mr. Pitt the general situation of affairs, and some possible future arrangements; but Mr. Pitt expressly assured me that Lord Melville did not communicate to him the separate offers which, as I learnt from Lord Camden on the 27th, had previously been made to Lord Melville by Mr. Addington. On the 28th, Mr. Addington sent Mr. Long down to Walmer with his answer to Mr. Pitt's communication. Mr. Long arrived there on the 29th, and left again the 30th, on which day I arrived there. Mr. Pitt told me that Mr. Long had been charged with a verbal message, importing that in consequence of Lord Melville's letter, Mr. Addington was willing that Mr. Pitt should return to his former situation, *on the footing* explained in that letter, and that for this purpose he himself was ready to take the office of Secretary of State. But that with respect to the time of such an arrangement, he trusted that Mr. Pitt would not object to come, in the Easter holidays, to the neighbourhood of London, where Mr. Addington might meet him, in order to discuss the whole subject with him. In the course of the conversation, Mr. Addington took occasion to intimate to Mr. Long his opinion, that the present disputes would terminate in peace; but he did not enable either Mr. Long or Lord Melville to communicate to Mr. Pitt any of the details of what had passed; nor had Mr. Pitt received any communication on that subject since that referred to in his letter to me, which communication had been only a private one from Lord Chatham, previous to the delivery of the message to parliament. Mr. Pitt's answer through Mr. Long was, therefore, that he should not be unwilling to meet Mr. Addington at Mr. Long's, where he should go the day before

Easter Sunday; but that it would be impossible for him to form any judgment as to his own conduct, unless the situation of public affairs both as to the depending negotiations, and as to the state of preparation on both sides were fully communicated to him. And he desired Mr. Long to add, that he should put himself at liberty to communicate what had already passed to some of his friends, and particularly to myself. While I remained at Walmer, Mr. Pitt received two or three lines by the post from Mr. Long, to say that his commission had been executed, and that the answers had been (as he Mr. Long had been persuaded they would be,) in every point satisfactory. But Mr. Pitt expected a more detailed letter from him by Mr. Huskisson, who was to be at Walmer a day or two afterwards.

After having heard from Mr. P. these particulars, I communicated to him the present state of the negotiations, as resulting from the papers of which I was in possession, which ended with Lord Hawkesbury's note of the 15th or 16th March; and I stated what I had learnt of the nature of the French answer to that note. During my stay, much discussion took place between us as to this point, and as to the other objects of foreign politics which are connected with it. And we agreed in the opinion that the military possession of Malta was the point on which this country must ultimately rest the dispute, adopting, for this purpose, Count Woronzow's suggestion of our occupying it on the footing of the old Dutch barrier. After some conversation on this point, Mr. Pitt expressed an earnest desire to know whether, if it were practicable, the persons with whom I had been acting since the Peace, would be disposed to give him our assistance, by taking a share in a new arrangement of government, should he be called upon to form it. My answer was, that this must so much depend, both on the precise circumstances under which any such arrangement might be formed, and on the nature of the arrangement itself, that no previous decision could be formed on that

point. That I thought cases might exist which might induce us not to think ourselves at liberty to withhold whatever assistance we could honourably give; but that such cases could hardly be reasoned upon, much less finally decided, while it was still uncertain whether the King had resolved to put into his hands the formation of a new government, and what degree of latitude might be allowed to him for that purpose.

Two points, however, I was able to mention distinctly, as being considered by us as essential to the idea of our entertaining any such proposition. The first was, that we should be at liberty to explain to the King, in the most distinct, though at the same time the most respectful manner, that whenever the Catholic question might be proposed in parliament, we reserved to ourselves the full liberty to state and urge in debate our unaltered opinions in favour of that measure. The second, that while our own discretion and honour were relied upon, for not doing anything unnecessarily offensive to our colleagues, we must, at the same time, reserve the liberty of stating in public, whenever either the justification of our own conduct, or the success of our future measures required it, that our opinions on the past transactions of these two last years remained also unaltered.

A third point was also stated by me as no less essential, and it was urged with much earnestness, because it seemed peculiarly applicable to the circumstances on which he was now called to confer with Mr. Addington. All ideas, I said, of any co-operation from us of the sort alluded to, must be out of the question, unless, it was not only distinctly understood between him and us, but was also made apparent to the public, that we were invited to form part of a new government to be formed by him, of such materials as he thought most conducive to the public service, and not to negotiate through him with the present government for a share of their power. With this view, which I stated to him as in no slight degree affecting

also his own honour, and means of serving the country, I urged strongly that he should not when he saw Mr. Addington enter with him into the details of any arrangements, but should state the absolute necessity of his first receiving the King's commands to submit to his Majesty the plan of a new government, in such shape as he might judge best for carrying on the public service, which plan so submitted, would of course be open to any observations or objections which his Majesty might make as to the whole or any part; after which it would remain for Mr. Pitt to consider in what manner, and to what extent he could, consistently with his views of the public service, accommodate the proposal to such ideas as his Majesty might entertain upon it, in order that his Majesty might thereupon make his final decision. After some discussion, Mr. Pitt seemed satisfied as to the propriety of this line, and I left him fully determined to adhere to it.

We then resumed the consideration of possible arrangements, always stating to each other that such discussions could only be speculative, and could not even bind ourselves much less any other persons to any definite or precise decision on the points discussed, while it still remained uncertain whether it was really intended to propose to him to form a new government, and what degree of latitude was to be given to him for that purpose. He stated the possible case of his finding in the King's mind some reluctance to admit into his service any of those whose parliamentary conduct is now in declared opposition to the measures of his present Ministers. On this point, I answered that I could at once relieve him from all difficulty. I intimated that I had some ground for believing that no such repugnance would be found on his Majesty's part, though I had no doubt it would be pretended by Mr. Addington, which was an additional reason for Mr. Pitt's requiring that he should receive his communication on the subject from his Majesty, and not from the present Ministers. But I stated that, if contrary to my belief, any such indisposition were

found in his Majesty's mind, very far from our wishing that Mr. Pitt should insist on surmounting that obstacle, and should attach this as a condition to his own acceptance of office, he might be assured that no intreaties which he could use, were he disposed to use them, would induce Lord Spencer or myself, or any other of those in whose name I could be supposed to speak, to accept of any share in the King's Government contrary to his Majesty's wishes. This species of intrusion was adverse to all our principles; and, as the hope of rendering public service could be the only inducement to us to return to office at all; and as that inducement would be almost wholly destroyed by such a circumstance, if it were found to exist, nothing in that case could persuade us to take any public situation.

After this, I suggested to Mr. Pitt the great advantage which, in my view of the state of the country, he would derive from endeavouring to form a government on a still more extensive foundation than that of which he had spoken, and from trying the experiment of uniting in the public service, under circumstances of extreme public danger as the present, the leading members, not of the three parties who had been in his view, but of all the four into which public men were now divided. I stated the reasons I had for believing that, with regard to the old Opposition, this might be done by including in his arrangement only Lord Moira and Grey, and perhaps Tierney (the latter in some office subordinate to the Cabinet), and that Fox would be contented not to take any personal share in the government so formed; and on a subsequent day, when he detailed to me some of the exceedingly strong measures to which he must of necessity resort in the very first moments of a new government, in order to put the country in that state, both of financial and military preparation, in which alone he could be contented that it should stand, even to continue negotiating, and much more to meet the pressure of actual war, I took occasion from that circumstance to renew this suggestion. In this light he seemed con-

siderably struck with it; and indeed it was not difficult to show him that the best hope of real success in carrying such measures not merely to a parliamentary majority, but with the general acquiescence and approbation of the country, must be by uniting all the leading men in parliament, without exception, in their support.

During the rest of our conversations we discussed the details of these measures, the course of foreign policy to be pursued in order to repair the fatal error of the last two years, of which he now appears fully sensible, and which indeed he acknowledged without reserve, and the various arrangements of office by which a government might be formed on a basis more or less extensive, as circumstances may require. As all these last were grounded merely on hypothetical cases, the foundation of all which is still quite uncertain, I do not record them here. The general outline which I stated as most likely to be adopted as a rule of conduct on this subject, by those with whom I was more immediately acting was this—that although we might consent (under the present circumstances of public difficulty) to act in a government, where Mr. Addington and Lord Hawkesbury continued to hold Cabinet situations, yet I saw very little probability of our agreeing to extend that acquiescence so far as to their holding any efficient offices of real business. The idea to which he himself is evidently the most disposed is, to create a new appointment of Speaker to the House of Lords to be held by Mr. Addington, with a peerage, &c., and to make Lord Hawkesbury, Privy Seal, or Chancellor of the Duchy. But as almost all the persons with whom he will be surrounded on his arrival in the neighbourhood of London, are for various reasons interested in confining the new arrangement to Mr. Pitt's party, and Mr. Addington's, to the exclusion of both the others, I guess that this is, on the whole, the more likely result of what is now passing. And certainly the public will gain not a little, even if no more is done

than to substitute his general direction for that of Mr. Addington's.

It appears from this admirable narrative, that Lord Grenville, moved by a profound conviction of the danger likely to be brought upon this country by a weak and incapable administration, when all its resources, directed with consummate skill, were required for the conflict into which she had entered, suggested a coalition of the ablest men of all parties, who were to sink all minor differences under the impulse of patriotic devotion, and form a government such as the exigency demanded. That an administration composed of the most distinguished men, in or out of Parliament, without any reference to alleged opinions, would have been able to conduct the war with vigour, and maintain the dignity of the empire undiminished till an honourable peace could be obtained, there seems little doubt. The country was not deficient either in great statesmen, or in great commanders; and urged by the overwhelming ruin with which she was threatened, by the immense power and brilliant military genius of the ruler of France, it was not too much to expect, in the former, the same union she was sure to find in the latter. At least, it was a noble idea, and set the example of self-oblivion, which was to have been the principle of the combination. This was, however, not the only proof Lord Grenville gave of being at least half-a-century in advance of his age.

Not the least remarkable feature of this transaction, is the steadiness with which Lord Grenville maintains his former views respecting the necessity of relieving the

Roman Catholics of their disabilities. There is not a question but that, had he abandoned his opinions on this point, the position Mr. Addington held, might have been his own; for that gentleman's chief qualification to such an office, existed in his readiness to adopt the King's views. The powerlessness to serve Lord Grenville, of the class whose claims to substantial relief he advocated, should be borne in mind, in connection with the axiom of the King being the fountain of honour. Knowing this, however, he not only surrendered the honours and emoluments of one of the highest offices of the state, because he was not permitted to realise an intention in favour of his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; but when a prospect of returning to power presented itself, he would not be brought to abandon those convictions—he would only consent to wait a more favourable moment for their development.

The Grenvilles experienced a feeling of intense disappointment at the discovery that Pitt was not disposed to support them, either in the proposed coalition, or in any measure respecting the Catholics, that might be distasteful to the King. As soon as he became thoroughly acquainted with Lord Grenville's intentions, he appears to have exhibited considerable reserve; and his intentions finally took the shape of his well-known amendment to Colonel Patten's motion of censure on the government. Possibly, he felt a doubt as to the position he should hold in a ministry so constituted; but all that we are told is, that he distrusted the proposed experiment of recruiting the ministerial ranks with picked men from the Opposition,

and that he very much doubted the possibility of maintaining any minister at his post, who did not possess the confidence of the King.

It was well known that his Majesty was averse to Fox whose interviews with the First Consul, and supposed acquaintance with certain Irish rebels, and English republicans, during his late visit to Paris, had not, it may readily be imagined, induced a more cordial feeling. The King could not be brought to tolerate him, nor was he much better disposed towards his principal adherents. Lord Grenville, therefore, could not anticipate from him the slightest assistance in the proposed coalition; while his ideas regarding Catholic emancipation, was sure of the King's determined opposition. In short, the plan of a coalition, honourable to him as it was in every way, met with so little support, that for a time Lord Grenville appears to have been disheartened—hence the complaints of the apathy exhibited in certain quarters.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 16, 1803.

I received late last night a servant with a letter to let me know that the thing is entirely off, and with copies of the papers that have passed upon the subject. The details I am not *yet* at liberty to communicate, especially by letter, but it will be satisfactory to you to know that nothing can have been more correct and judicious than my correspondent's conduct throughout the whole affair, (particularly with respect to us,) and that the thing is placed on the best possible grounds—those which had been previously discussed as preliminary to all notions of detail. I am going over this morning to Wimbledon Park, and expect to return here with my correspondent Monday or Tuesday, he being to dine on Sunday at

the other side of the Common. I think it, therefore, quite certain that you would find me here on Thursday, but I will certainly write to you again Monday or Tuesday, directing to Avington.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, April 18, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I have at length fixed my plans, so as to stay here to-day, and perhaps to-morrow, and to go to Dropmore on Wednesday, at latest. Pitt passes Thursday with me there; and it may, therefore, perhaps be best that you should postpone your visit till Friday, on which day I will expect you (if I hear nothing to the contrary) to dinner. Tom will meet you there. The colour which the few friends of the present government affect to give to the failure of the negotiation with Pitt is, as I understand, that his demands were excessive, and that the King's repugnance could not be surmounted. I hear nothing as yet of any overtures made to Lord Moira or Grey, though I suppose they must feel that to be their only resource. They have made none such yet.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

I shall stay at Dropmore till the Monday following, and I need not add that the more of that time you can give me then, the happier I shall be. Things are going on no better here, but I hope not approaching to any very immediate crisis.

Since I wrote this, I have heard additional reasons, independent of those which Addington's conduct in this transaction naturally suggests, for believing that they expect to maintain peace with France, and even to obtain advantageous terms from Bonaparte.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Oxford Street, April 30, 1803.

My Dearest Brother,

Our political situation here remains just as it did. I write to tell you that I have been informed, on good grounds, of the precise state of discussion about Malta, on which alone the question of peace or war depend. We had insisted on keeping Malta, declaring, however, our readiness to negotiate on any other expedient, which would provide for the safety of our interests in the Levant. France declined proposing any. We then proposed that France should *let us* buy Lampedusa of the King of Naples, and that we should have a certain time to fortify it, and to make a naval establishment there, during which time (for a given number of years) we should keep Malta. Talleyrand's answer was that, as for all that related to Lampedusa, France had no objection; but that to keep Malta for a time was the same thing as keeping it for ever; that they were willing to negotiate a new convention for removing all the difficulties that had arisen in the execution of the treaty of Amiens; but that they would listen to no proposal that had for its basis the violation of that treaty, the destruction of the order, or the possession of Malta in our hands. On this, orders were sent to renew the proposal about Lampedusa, limiting our possession of Malta to ten years; and Lord Whitworth has orders, if he does not receive a satisfactory answer by the 3rd of May, to come away on that day. But I know Whitworth well enough to be quite sure that, if the least ray of hope remains, or any possible *échappatoire* that he can pretend, he will never take upon himself to decide that any state of circumstances is precisely such as to oblige him to come away; but will leave that point to be determined, as, in fact, it ought to be, in this case, by orders from home.

We shall, therefore, in all probability, not have any answer or communication to parliament by Tuesday. On that day I am, as

things now stand, to make the finance statement; but there is, I fear, too much reason to believe that the crisis of things in this house* is approaching so near as probably to prevent my appearing in public on that day. As soon as our misfortune happens, I shall endeavour to persuade my poor wife to go with me to Dropmore; and my stay there must depend on the state of her health and spirits.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 30, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

You hear from William the general budget, which is, as you see, curious enough. I have to add to it that I have just heard, from good authority, that, the *day before yesterday,* Lord Melville said, in confidence to a friend, that he and Pitt must come in, he holding the Admiralty for three months, in order that they might afterwards get in their old colleagues. I should easily have understood this as an original project, when he first came up a month ago; but how it can continue now to be his project after what has passed in regard to Pitt, exceeds my comprehension.

A bye-boat arrived yesterday, which brought private news so warlike as to sink the stocks, and Tierney, whom I have just met, tells me that the report of war gains ground.

In this state, it is more than ever desirable that the finance debate should take place; but the daily apprehensions respecting Lady Camelford seem to leave no hope for it. If that event shall happen, I shall go with William for a day or two to Dropmore, and try to help in the distress of the poor little woman. I expect that something will be said or done on Monday to prevent, if possible, Patten's motion for Tuesday.

* Lady Camelford, a near relation of Lady Grenville, was suffering from an attack of illness that allowed no hope of recovery.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, May 5, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

All London has been the dupe of a forgery. A forged letter, as from Lord Hawkesbury, was received by the Lord Mayor this morning, in which Lord Hawkesbury informed the Lord Mayor, that the discussions with France had ended amicably. Stocks rose from 64 to 71. An hour afterwards, the forgery was discovered, and stocks have fallen to 63. Immense sums had already been bought and sold. All bargains for time are declared invalid, but all others stand irrevocably.

The report is, that Mr. Honeywood arrived in London two hours ago from Paris, where he had gone to stay, and his account is, that Lord Whitworth bid him leave Paris on Monday, and said he should follow next day. This is generally believed, but I cannot avouch it.

I have reason to think we still stick to ten years, and there seems to be a general expectation that a messenger will to-night arrive to announce Lord Whitworth's having left Paris.

Lady Camelford died about three to-day. My brother and his wife are gone to Dropmore, and I follow there to-morrow, to help to make the first melancholy moments pass. I conclude that I must be back by Monday.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Friday, May 13, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

My brother is preparing for his financial debate to-day, which is not likely to be interrupted by any communication, as it is now three o'clock, and I am assured that no messenger is yet arrived. It seems, therefore, evident that no regular message

will be delivered to Parliament before Monday next; and when it is delivered, there must be an interval of some days before the papers (which are very numerous) can be considered and debated.

Opinions continue still to be entirely afloat as to the result. I still incline to think that, somehow or other, it will be patched up; and even if Lord Whitworth does come away, it is not impossible that some subalterns, either here or at Paris, will still patch it up.

Pitt comes to town to-morrow, but I know not whether he will attend before the day of considering the message. Addington's friends announce their expectation of his support. I suppose they must mean in the question of war as against the old opposition; but that question we must reason on our own grounds.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 14th May, 1803.

DEAREST BROTHER,

A messenger arrived to-day, at one P.M., with news that Bonaparte had referred our message to his Council of State, and that, in consequence of their decision, Lord Whitworth was to leave Paris on Thursday night. I am just told that the funds are at 57. The King has countermanded his Windsor journey, and remains in town. Pitt came this morning a little before the news, and having missed my brother, who returned to Dropmore this morning, he goes down to Dropmore to him to-morrow morning, but I do not know that he goes with any other motive or charge than a general desire of talking over this very critical moment. What will be the result—whether there will still really be war, and whether, if there be, Ministers mean to brave it and remain at their posts—remains to be seen. If, however, real and important business does not detain you at Stowe, I cannot help

wishing that you would come and let us all be nearer together in so interesting a moment.

The messenger was forty hours on his road. Addington has sent a message to the city, but I know not the exact words. It is reported that great dislike of war prevails in Paris, and, perhaps, that may furnish some hope here of accommodation, even though Lord Whitworth should return.

My brother made a most clear and convincing statement yesterday, in the House of Lords, which was well attended to, and produced much effect.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, May 18, 1803.

DEAREST BROTHER,

The papers are this moment printed, and I have desired the Precis Writer to enclose them to you by to-night's post. A declaration accompanies them, which is our manifesto, and which shows that all immediate accommodation seems to be gone by, although it may perhaps be resumed.

I hear of nothing but the marching of militia. I hope you will not depart from your former intention of giving it to your son, now that it leaves the county; and I likewise feel confident that the critical state of things in the present moment will induce you to come and talk them over with us, sooner than the decade that you spoke of.

I expect my brother from Dropmore in Pall Mall to-morrow.

P.S. Pitt comes to town to-day to stay.

Bonaparte's first act of hostility to England, after the declaration of war, was so completely opposed to the customs of civilized nations, under similar circumstances,

that it excited against him, in this country, a degree of distrust and detestation that made every man his personal enemy. He seized all Englishmen, about 10,000 in number, who happened to be at the time within his influence—they were mostly travellers, or persons engaged in business—and these he caused to be imprisoned, and their property seized. Many were females, children, and invalids; but all were treated with the same rigour, and in numerous instances it continued till their sufferings were relieved by death. His orders for committing this outrage, were dated the 22nd of May; and it was done in retaliation for the detention and seizure of certain Dutch and French ships, before they could reach their destination. Embargoes on shipping were, however, sanctioned by the custom of all governments; but the imprisonment of harmless travellers, was a violation of the law of nations, only to be met with in the transactions of a barbarous state.

If Bonaparte had studied the readiest way to strengthen the British government, and excite against him the entire population of Great Britain, he could not have done anything more likely to realise such objects, than this act of cruelty and injustice. Before its perpetration, he was not without admirers in England; but faction could not entirely extinguish patriotism, and his name became execrated throughout the country. This was, however, but the commencement of Bonaparte's new system of making war on England. He encouraged certain Irish conspirators, who had found their way to Paris, to raise a rebellion in Ireland; in short, he left nothing undone

which an unscrupulous mind could devise, for the destruction of the British Empire.

His discreditable policy, however, brought the First Consul no accession of strength, while its exposure gave a nationality to the struggle on this side the channel, that was of incalculable advantage to the English government. The impression that they were not equal to the emergency was daily gaining ground; nor, it is evident, was Mr. Addington satisfied that he could maintain his position at the head of affairs, without additional support. The overtures that were made by him, or in his name, to more than one individual of political influence, are indicated in this portion of the correspondence. Some unimportant changes were effected, but he was unable to accomplish anything in this way, that could render him unassailable by his powerful opponents, Pitt and the Grenvilles. The former greatly disappointed many of his friends by his conduct at this very critical period; while Lord Grenville, on the contrary, was daily increasing his influence, by displaying a decided policy, as remarkable for its wisdom, as for its boldness. Indeed, his patriotism caused him to become so obnoxious to the censure of Bonaparte, that violent paragraphs, directed against him, were constantly published in the "Moniteur."

Among the amusing passages that are to be found in M. Thiers' history, it is scarcely possible to meet with one more diverting, than his description of the state of political parties in England, about the month of May, 1803. From this authority it appears, that Mr. Addington, sensible of his weakness, made overtures to Mr. Pitt

which the latter haughtily rejected, leaving him and his coadjutors in cruel perplexity. The negotiation, we are told, was commenced without the knowledge of the King, who had an insurmountable aversion to Mr. Pitt, because that statesman insisted on being his master, as well as his minister. The opinions of Mr. Fox being hateful to him, the latter was equally out of the question. It was impossible, therefore, to make a selection of either. His Majesty preferred to keep Mr. Addington, who was his particular confidant. His Majesty would maintain peace, if possible; but if this became impossible, he was resigned to wage war, which, we are assured, had become a sort of habit with him—only he must be permitted to wage it with his present ministry. The historian then goes on to state, that Mr. Pitt's co-operation being denied Messrs. Addington and Co., they could not coalesce with Lord Grenville and Mr. Wyndham, for their violence went far beyond public opinion. Nevertheless, their party was the strongest at the time, because its sentiments stirred up the national passions; and its influential members revenged themselves for being shut out of the administration, by making it act only as they suggested.* M. Thiers never misses an opportunity of being severe upon the Grenvilles for their alleged violence; and does his best, or worst, to hold them up to the indignation of his countrymen, because they rendered themselves conspicuous by the bold expression of opinions, which time has verified in every particular. By this, he appears conscious of the great influence which they exerted over public

* Histoire du Consulat, Tome I.

opinion in England, at a period when timid counsels might have insured its destruction. He knows that their warnings succeeded in placing the country in security; and that their appeals raised the chivalry of the nation.

The first paragraph of the following letter, relates to the division, in the House of Lords, upon Earl Fitzwilliam's motion of censure upon the government. Colonel Patten brought a resolution to this effect, before the House of Commons, on the 3rd of June, when Mr. Thomas Grenville made a most effective speech, that took two hours in the delivery.* Mr. Pitt followed Mr. Addington, and uttered a series of observations that were very far from being a defence of the government; as he stated "he could not concur in all the charges implied in the propositions, nor would he say that the Minister was without blame." He ended by moving the orders of the day; a proceeding that disappointed both parties, and benefited no one. Addington, Fox, and the Grenville party, voted against him, and he was supported only by fifty-eight votes. The Minister had made such good use of government influence, that when the original motion came to a division, it was lost by a majority of 277 to 36. This was regarded as a signal triumph over Mr. Pitt, by his "friend and successor," and the exultation of the government may be imagined. Mr. Pitt retired to Walmer, extremely mortified at the failure of his half-and-half policy. The war, however, continued with increased hostility; but it was a war of pamphlets, commenced

* Mr. Abbot's Diary, quoted by Dr. Pellew.

with bad taste, and worse judgment, by the friends of the Minister.

"The Doctor," in reference to his father's profession, was from this time used as a nick-name for Mr. Addington, by his opponents.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, June 14, 1803.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I enclose you the list of our Thursday's division—the 18th. I do not know accurately, but I imagine they will be published as I mean the 15th should be. You will see that the Oracle *Philippizes,* and probably for the same reasons as produced that effect of old. We must have recourse elsewhere, and I am confident we shall find no difficulty in so doing. I look upon the event of Thursday as having been much the greatest blow the Doctor and his gallipots have yet received. I write this before the papers of this morning are come in, and before seeing anybody who can give an account of yesterday's debate in the House of Commons. Yesterday morning the town was full of reports of arrangements including Lord Moira, Sheridan, and others. That the Doctor would be glad so to strengthen himself against Pitt, I have no doubt, because to look two or three months forward, to the time when such allies would treat him as he deserves, very far exceeds the reach of his sagacity. But till I actually see the thing done, I shall not believe that the King will put himself in Lord Melville's power, with no better security than Addington's talents can give him, against the natural effect which he must most apprehend of all the possible things that can befall him.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, June 7, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

The Duke of Portland has been dangerously ill with a stranguary which has been relieved, but still is not so entirely removed, but that there remains some uneasiness about the consequences of its possible return. In this state of things, Lord Spencer seems disposed to think of proposing his son, in case of the Duke's illness ending fatally; I have told him what he already knew, that in such a case, you could not probably but be as neuter as you always have been, in the election of a second member; in truth his Buckinghamshire connections have been, as you know, with the Duke of Portland's friends in the country, and as they will certainly set up some candidate, I know of none that could be so likely to be agreeable to you as Lord Althorpe. I have, however, told Lord Spencer that, if he looks to his chance in the present moment, he should be aware that Sir G. R. is likely to preoccupy that interest, unless some hint should be given to them of the views of Lord Spencer, with respect to G. Cavendish. Lord Spencer tells me that he is abroad and not of age—all this may be of no ultimate consequence, and the Duke is likely to recover, but as these matters must naturally be interesting to you, I lose no time in apprising you of the state of things.

Of Pitt's failure in effect, and in number, on Friday last, you must have already heard; I fear that he has hurt himself much in public opinion, though probably he may still recover it if he should even now take any decided part. But by the language of the Doctor in the debate of yesterday, as you see it in the papers, he seems very indifferent as to any course that Pitt may choose to take. The power of the crown is quite sufficient to maintain him against everything, but some irrepara-

ble calamity, and I see no reason to suppose that there is any disposition at Buckingham House to abandon him.

Many changes are talked over; the appointment of Tierney gives great offence to some of Pitt's friends, and there is much expectation that W. Dundas and Steel will resign, but much offence is borne with before it produces resignation, and therefore I am less sanguine as to these two instances.

Lord G. made a most incomparable speech yesterday, and the figure which government has made in Lords and Commons on the resolutions is in argument below contempt, but in numbers invincible. When you are strong enough to pass your day out of bed, I hope to come and see you.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, June 19, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

When Lord Temple left town, he promised to write to me, to let me know what pay and allowances you and he give to your permanent Yeomanry serjeants, as mine has received nothing, and has only been told that he is to be on the same footing with them. As there seems now some prospect of our getting some money from the War Office, I should be obliged to you if you would let me have one line on this subject, as soon as you are at leisure to write, without inconvenience to yourself, that my poor Welchman may not be left any longer in suspense. The militia ballots, original and supplementary, and the project for what is called arming the country, by ballotting again for the army, will fill our ranks as fast as we will let them be filled; but, I think, we must observe some moderation in this. I much fear that in some parts, at least, of England and Scotland, if not in this county, the last scheme will not be carried into execution without such disturbances as will give the yeomanry ample occupation. Here, I hope, we shall be quiet; though this is naturally a more

turbulent neighbourhood than the Vale. Our parishes complain grievously of the desertions in the militia; and, I suspect, that many of the men have been Londoners, who have entered with false names, as has, I understand, been done to an immense extent in Middlesex.

I heartily wish it were possible to avoid any compulsory recruiting for the army; but I know not how it could be done, as an army, somehow or other, to be sure we must have.

God bless you.

An ounce of sense would have saved Hanover and Hamburg. I explained to Pitt, as long ago as at Easter, how it might be done, and how I was sure it would not be done. To be sure, the King has great reason to thank himself. I am sure that I, and all those of whom there might have been question, have abundant reason to be most sincerely thankful to him, and his advisers.

The capture of Toussaint l'Ouverture, and the shipping him off to France, did not greatly advance the objects of Bonaparte in St. Domingo. The blacks had other chiefs that proved themselves equally formidable; and possessing a powerful ally in the yellow fever, that destroyed more gallant Frenchmen than those dusky heroes could have been brought to face in the field, the position of the French army became extremely critical. This state of things was, of course, known at Jamaica, whence the conflict had been watched with intense interest; and, apparently, by no one more intently than the writer of the following communication.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, June 12, 1803.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

Our latest accounts from England are of a warlike nature; although, a few days ago, we had expected that affairs had taken a peaceable turn. From what I can see, a war would be much more advantageous to us, at the present moment, than an insecure peace, to be broken at the option of the French rulers, although here we risk something at the beginning of a rupture, from the neighbourhood of St. Domingo and Cuba.

I expect reinforcements from the Windward Islands, with the news of war, as I have reason to think that the naval officer commanding there, will not permit the French to land any troops in that command, although they may have leave to proceed to St. Domingo; and, in that case, we shall require an additional force here.

The news from St. Domingo is, that the prospects of the French are as gloomy as ever, independently of the disadvantages attending a renewal of the war. The black chief, Dessalines, lately took Mirebalais, and descended into the plain of le Cul de Sac, from whence he was repulsed, however, by 4000 French troops, headed by Rochambeau in person.

The Cape—François—has been long closely blockaded; and, in general, the French are merely in possession of the principal towns, to which they are confined. I understand that the French troops are by no means hearty in the cause, and still extremely sickly. I suppose that Bonaparte will only enable Rochambeau to maintain his present footing in the colony until October—the season for acting being during the latter and early months in the year—when it is expected that he will send a very considerable force to take possession of the island, and to exterminate the brigands.

Without claiming much credit for the prophecy, I always have said, from the information I received previous to the arrival of the French troops there, that they never would succeed in their object. That is, also, still the opinion of the best informed people in Jamaica; and the increased prices they procure for their produce, reconcile them to the danger they formerly apprehended from a black government so near to them to Windward.

I have sent an Honduras canoe, with its appurtenances, to be landed at the dockyard, Portsmouth, until you choose to convey it from thence to Stowe. It is made of mahogany, and there are six paddles, together with ten other loose pieces; viz., a rudder, two back boards, and thwarts. I have collected some South American birds for Lady Buckingham, which I meant to send to England by Sir John Duckworth; but if a war breaks out, he will stay of course, I suppose, and I shall delay to send them.

You are perfectly recovered, I hope, by the Bath Waters, and fit to undertake many future campaigns, if necessary. I see that the militia are called out once more. We shall not be merely upon the defensive, I trust, this war; but make the Spaniards, at least, repent of the part they are likely to take in it. Their South American possessions are very vulnerable indeed, as I well know from many persons from this island, to whom I have given letters of introduction to the Spanish governors, and who have, in consequence, been allowed to go far into the interior of the country, to collect debts, &c., &c. With three European, and three black corps, anything might be done on the continental part, excepting the city of Mexico, which is, as is the province in general, very populous. However, the Americans can accomplish that part of the business, and create a formidable diversion in our favour, should it be considered politic in us to attack the South American possessions. The French West India islands could not hold out above a month, were we now to prevent them from receiving reinforcements while the negotiation

is going on. Neither could the colonies of the Dutch, as they have scarcely any garrisons, the troops having died as rapidly as in St. Domingo.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord Buckingham,
Your grateful and affectionate servant,
G. NUGENT.

The war had commenced on the continent by General Mortier's seizure of Hanover, which city was not in a state to resist his army. This took place early in June. It increased the exertions that had commenced in England, to raise an effective force for all contingencies. The militia was regarded with increasing attention.* The Marquis of Buckingham, in particular, continued to take a deep interest in this national army, notwithstanding the entreaties of his brothers to resign the colonelcy of his regiment to his son.

The government brought forward measures, such as the

* "Independent of the militia, eighty thousand strong, which were called out on the 25th of March, and the regular army of a hundred and thirty thousand already voted, the House of Commons, on the 28th of June, agreed to the very unusual step of raising fifty thousand men additional by conscription. . . . . In addition to this, a bill was brought in shortly afterwards to call on the levy *en masse* to repel the invasion of the enemy, and empowering the lord-lieutenants of the several counties to enrol all the men in the kingdom between nineteen and fifty-five years of age, in different classes, who were to be divided into regiments, according to their several ages and professions. . . . . Such was the general zeal and enthusiasm, that, in a few weeks, three hundred thousand men were enrolled, armed, and disciplined in the different parts of the kingdom, and the compulsory conscription fell to the ground."—*Alison's* "*History of Europe*," Chap. XXXVII., § 17.

Additional Force Bill, and the Military Service Bill, with the object of increasing both the army and militia. The Marquis of Buckingham was, as usual, among the first; and while he endeavoured to gain information, from a reliable source, of the intentions of the administration, proffered his services to carry them out in his county. The naval force of the country, at this time, owing to the pacific character of the Minister, was in a deplorable state of unfitness. He had pared it down so fine, that either for offence, or defence, it was quite inadequate to meet the demands that must necessarily be made upon it. Short-comings in this quarter were criminal; and their discovery considerably expedited the general condemnation of Mr. Addington's cabinet, that had for months been seeking a proper form of expression.*

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, June 22, 1803.

I am impatient, my dearest brother, to hear something about you more satisfactory than what I can collect from the mere rumours of London; and still the more so, because I wish so to arrange my measures as to come to you at the time that would most conveniently suit your arrangements and mine. I have till now, entertained the notion of attending the arming measures in parliament, but the plan which Ministers have adopted, appears to me to be so objectionable, and yet is so

* Sir Archibald Alison has brought together many interesting details proving the shameful mismanagement of the navy during the administration of Mr. Addington.—*History of Europe*, Chapter XXXVII., § 29, and Note.

readily acquiesced in by the country, as well as approved of by Pitt; and Wyndham's censure of it the other day, though entirely unanswered, was so entirely ineffectual that I shall, I believe, abandon the subject entirely; and, therefore, I think my Sessions as closed, and shall probably soon go to Dropmore, from whence, towards the middle of next week, or whenever you like it better, I would come to you to Stowe, or meet you in your way to Gosfield, whither I understand you to mean to move when you can bear the journey.

The incapacity of government and apathy of the country, tremendous as they are, must, however, at last wake to the pressing calls of instant danger, and when they do, God knows you will have but too much to occupy you, without throwing away your health, and strength, and talents, upon the discharge of the duties of a colonel in a camp, which cannot but be fatal to a state of health as unequal to fatigue as you must be in the present moment.

Pitt stays and approves to a certain degree, and I know not where he disapproves, he will express his disapprobation; he has, however, been falsely accused of naming the Minister his Right Honourable friend, because I know from the *best* authority that by those words he meant Yorke, and not Addington. Yet what signifies what he meant; it is evidently intended that we shall meet our fate in the incapable hands that now direct us, and those hands will not be changed until some strange convulsion shall have happened, which will by that time have grown to be beyond remedy or resource. This is my sober and serious conviction, and dreadful as the prospect is which arises from it, I know not how to teach myself that it is possible to entertain better hopes. Let us hear from you, dearest brother.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, June 27, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

Lord Dorchester has renewed his offer of the same yeomanry, which is accepted; I mention him, because he was colonel without a troop belonging to him. There is no news. The report of Sir Sydney's capture of gun-boats is not believed. Nepean* told me yesterday, that they have no intelligence of the St. Domingo fleet having sailed, but it had intended to sail on the 16th May; he thinks they will push for Cadiz or Toulon.

The taxes are not much better liked than the arming measures; but what is most incomprehensible, is the general apathy which prevails in a time of so much danger, of such general sense of that danger, and such universal distrust of the hands which govern us.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, June 29, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

By the papers of this morning, I see that government has at length adopted, what I think a very great improvement, indeed, in their measure; I mean the allotting the men to fill up, as far as there is room for them, all the skeleton regiments who are to be kept for home service. I am confident that every one so allotted, will tell more for real service, than five others sent into the new regiment, raised and officered as they propose. If you could tell me how I could make myself useful in the

* Evan, first baronet. He was successively Secretary to the Admiralty, Secretary for Ireland, one of the Lords of the Admiralty, and Governor of Bombay.

meetings of the Deputy-Lieutenants, I would willingly do so. My yeomanry is filling fast, in despite of the clause of non-exemption announced in Yorke's plan; and I really look with some confidence to the means of making the establishment once more of some use. When we arrive, Tom and I will tell you our prospects about it; and I rejoice to think that you have decided to give up the militia, which will enable you to turn your attention to this other object.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, July 12, 1803.

My dear Lord,

I received your letter of the 10th instant, and have spoken to Mr. Yorke upon the subject of the 28th clause of the Levy Act, who regrets extremely that the omission (which was quite accidental) should have been made. It certainly was not the intention of government, that the Lord-Lieutenant should be discharged from any part of his usual functions. Your suggestions respecting the returns from the constables, of waggons, carts, &c., &c. is extremely judicious; and I am much concerned that it did not come before the communications were made to the Lord-Lieutenants.

I am satisfied that everything that zeal and ability can effect, will be done under your auspices in the county of Buckingham; but I fear with you, that, from various circumstances, voluntary offers of services, will not be so numerous as the occasion requires.

Under an impression that such offers may be inadequate in many parts of the country, the notice given by Yorke of an amendment to the Defence Bill, referred to an idea, which is now under consideration, of conferring the King's right to the levies of those he may call upon, in the event of actual invasion; but

I know of nothing in the proposed measure, which need induce you to hesitate in bringing forward any of the plans, to which your letter would seem to apply.

Your retirement from the militia, after all your exertions in that service, can never be attributed to any but the real motive, and, I am sure, it will be most sincerely regretted. You must excuse my having written in very great haste,

And believe me yours affectionately,

HOBART.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, July 22, 1803.

MY DEAR LORD,

I lose not a moment in acknowledging the receipt of your letter of yesterday; but must request of you to allow me to postpone giving you an answer, with respect to the extent of your volunteer corps, for a few days. It being quite impossible for me to offer any opinion under present circumstances, that might not be liable to alteration, according to the shape which the bill, now pending in parliament, may ultimately take, and indeed with some reference to the discussions with which it may be accompanied in its progress.

I am really concerned at the appearance of, in any degree, checking your activity; but, I trust, you will be satisfied that I could not act otherwise.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord,

Most affectionately yours,

HOBART.

The intrigues commenced in Paris, a few months back, with the Irish rebels, were now bearing their anticipated fruit. A revolutionary movement had broken out in Dublin, and elsewhere, of a formidable character. Many

thousands of the people appeared in arms; but, notwithstanding gross mismanagement on the part of the higher military authorities, the rebellion was easily quelled by a small armed force.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, July 27, 1803.

MY DEAR LORD,

I should have endeavoured to give you a more satisfactory answer to your letter of yesterday, had not the unfortunate accounts from Ireland made it impossible for me to enter sufficiently into the subject to warrant my forming a distinct opinion. The letter from Ireland is short; the substance of it, that our friend, Lord Kilwarden, had been murdered by a mob supposed to come from the county of Kildare, in Thomas Street, Dublin; that there was an insurrection in Dublin, and that the troops were out, and firing upon the insurgents. This was the state of things when the message came away.

I am in hopes, however, that matters will not turn out quite so bad, as Mr. Marsden would seem to apprehend. He evidently wrote under great agitation. The Lord-Lieutenant was at the Park, and there is no letter from him; indeed, I doubt, whether at the time he could communicate with the Castle.

The new bill only authorizes one shilling per day to volunteers, when exercised in working hours, on a week day, and nothing for clothing.

The number you propose to raise for Buckingham, according to your statement, would entirely exonerate the rest of the towns.

I moved and inserted an amendment in the bill, to remove all doubt respecting the placing volunteer corps in regiments of the line, fencibles, and militia. You need, therefore, be under no uneasiness upon that point.

It would be impossible to encounter the expense of authorising from three to four hundred thousand volunteers, upon the terms of the paper you refer to, entitled, "Proposed Conditions of Service for Corps of Volunteer Infantry."

You must excuse my having written to you in great haste, and under much agitation,

And believe me, yours most sincerely,

HOBART.

MR. EDWARD COOKE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

1, North Row, Park Lane, July 28, 1803.

MY DEAR LORD,

It appears that the Irish government were completely surprised, though the seizure of a manufacture of gunpowder some days since, and a large pile of pikes might have put them on their guard. The gunpowder was discovered by one of the fellows employed being blown up, and carried to a hospital. I also understand that the country people in Kildare left their work two days before the insurrection.

The statement your Lordship made in the paper as to Lord Kilwarden and his nephew's death, is true. His daughter was with him in the coach, but by getting among the mob, who were intent upon her father, she escaped. Colonel Browne of the 21st, was shot from a window and killed; Mr. Clarke, the foreman of the Grand Jury was shot also, but will recover. The rebels broke into the Mansion House, and took away the arms. All this happened near ten at night on Saturday.

I hear a good spirit has been shown by the yeomanry, and all is quiet in Dublin on Saturday.

Cradock writes, that he heard the rebels were assembling in thousands near Carlow; but there is no such account from government. It is fortunate that M'Cabe, the son of the rebel watchmaker, at Belfast, who has been ever the most

active leader, has been taken in arms near Dublin. They say Neilson has been seen at Belfast.

Intelligence had been some days received by the commanding officer at Newry, that organisation was going on; that the people in the towns were exercising at night; and that there was to be an insurrection in Belfast, Dublin, and the South, on the 24th. This bespeaks concert to a great extent, so that worse may be dreaded than has appeared.

Government had been lulled into a fatal state of security, and all their accounts hitherto represented Ireland as in the most flattering state.

A message goes to the House to-day. I suppose Martial Law Bill will be renewed.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 30, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

Wyndham sent me from the House of Commons yesterday, the dreadful account of the insurrection at Dublin. When he wrote, government was still ignorant whether the insurrection had been suppressed, and in what manner, even at Dublin; and they seemed to fear that something of the same sort may have occurred in other parts. For the last six months, government have been full of nothing else but the perfect security of Ireland. In the meantime, how tardy, confused, and ineffectual are all these measures even here, where they meet with no opposition except that of those who are trying, if it be possible, to goad them on to do their duty.

I have not yet seen this General Training Bill, and I am in much difficulty how to go on for want of hearing from you; and I suppose your answer will be, that your difficulty is much greater for want of hearing from them. Still I wish you could

let me have one line every now and then, just to say what you are doing, that we may conform our proceedings to it.

All this I feel is like saving pence while we are losing millions: attending with infinite labour to raising a small and ineffectual force, while the ignorance and folly of our government is every day putting the whole to hazard; and when, indeed, no reasonable man can have an hour's confidence in anything that depends on them, on whom nevertheless the whole depends.

Yet, after all, we are doing our duty in the sphere of activity which is assigned to us. If our means of usefulness are wasted, and our talents misapplied; if the officers are set to the capstan, while the cabin-boys direct the working of the ship, this is not our fault. It is our duty to do what it is allowed us to do, and as to all the rest, we must sink or swim with the ship.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

LORD HOBART TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Downing Street, Aug. 1, 1803.

My dear Lord,

You may be assured that nothing can be more unpleasant to me, than the necessity which I have been under of postponing the official answer to your several applications on the subject of Volunteer Corps, but the truth is, that the New Defence Bill was so hurried through parliament, that, now it is to be acted upon, many difficulties occur that were not sufficiently attended to at the proper time.

I have, however, little doubt of being able, on to-morrow, to answer the material points in your letter; and will now, *privately*, inform you what that answer is likely to be.

In the first place, with respect to numbers: in the estimate of six times the militia, exclusive of the supplementary quota, you

will be allowed to include all your *existing yeomanry and volunteers;* and if it should be thought that the act will not warrant that construction for the purpose of making up the number equal to three-fourths of the first class, we must amend it, and also in order to leave it to his Majesty to determine when the number, in a particular county, district, or parish, is sufficient to render it expedient to give up the compulsory training.

The intention with respect to allowances under the act is, to give one shilling per day for twenty days, not being Sundays—meaning, that the exercise on the Sunday should be gratuitous.

To allow twenty shillings for clothing once in three years, two guineas bounty, when called out on actual service, and one guinea on return home, when the enemy has been repulsed. The expense to government, therefore, exclusive of the bounty, will be two pounds per man, which, I should suppose, might be commuted for the convenience of individuals.

We shall have great difficulty on the subject of arms, but in particular parts of the kingdom (in which Buckinghamshire would, I should think, be included), early arrangements must be made for furnishing the corps.

There can be no possible objection to your volunteers forming a separate corps, conformably to clause 54.

Many thanks for your kindly expressions, and believe me,

Ever yours affectionately,

HOBART.

The allusion to the reception of "your French Monsieurs," in the following communication, refers to the Court of the exiled King of France, who had been invited to Stowe, and many members of which received considerable pecuniary assistance there, and afterwards, from the Marquis of Buckingham.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Althorp, Aug. 30, 1803.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I have not sent you any intelligence respecting the Birmingham armourer, not only because I have not yet learnt his name, but because Lord Spencer has been informed by his Northampton friend, that a second letter had been sent to him from Birmingham, to announce that they were now so completely employed, that they could not engage for the delivery of arms within any short or precise period.

I would not willingly come, until I knew what time you had fixed for your intended excursion of three or four days to Harwich, and for your intended reception of your French Monsieurs.

I find here, as everywhere, much confusion arising from the daily changes and contradictions that issue from the great men in office, upon the fertile topic of armament. Everybody expounds these contradictions, according to their own fancy; but everybody is equally agreed in condemning the sudden stop that has been put both to the Training Bill, and to the volunteers, who were to supply the necessity of the Training Bill. The first effect of this check has been to renew the opinion that Ministers do not really believe in the actual measure of invasion; and the strange reports concerning Moreau's royalist proclamation, will, doubtless, tend to fortify that opinion, and to relax, with the relaxed sense of danger, that vigour and exertion which the country had manifested, while their apprehensions were kept alive. I have not the means of judging of the extent of the grounds on which this report has been constructed here; but I have reason to know that Ministers have recently heard of some dispositions at Paris, which appeared likely to create some confusion there. Probably, however, these are only minor

circumstances, and must have been strangely exaggerated to produce the account which is quoted from the Dutch Commodore, and the English Captain.

Have you read the manifesto of Addington against all the Pitts, Grenvilles, Spencers, Wyndhams, &c., in a pamphlet called, "Cursory Remarks upon the State of Parties?" The authentic tone in which it asserts as facts, the most audacious falsehoods, gives it a consequence beyond what it could derive from the style of writing, which is but very moderate. If you have not read it, you should get it. What are they doing in Ireland; for it is there, I do believe, that we shall have to fight the French?

The pamphlet mentioned by Mr. Grenville, like thousands of similar publications, is too deeply buried to be readily disentombed. It may, perhaps, suffice to state, that it created no slight stir in its day; but that its day was soon over. It was written by Mr. Bentley, and was spiritedly replied to by "A plain Answer to the Misrepresentations and Calumnies contained in the Cursory Remarks of a near Observer," from the pen of Mr. T. P. Courtenay. This provoked, from Dr. Bissett, "A plain Reply to a plain Answer; being a more fair state of the question between the late and present Minister;" as well as two other pamphlets from Mr. Bentley. Then Mr. Robert Ward, M.P., brought out his "View of the relative situations of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Addington, on the night of Mr. Patten's motion."

It now appears, that the Marquis of Buckingham had at last followed the oft-repeated advice of his brother, to surrender to his son the command of his militia regiment. As all England was astir with martial preparations, and the

duties of a colonel were equally harassing and responsible, it became obvious to him, that he could not maintain the command with so much advantage to the service as hitherto. The King was evidently much gratified with the state of efficiency into which the Marquis had brought the Royal Bucks; indeed, his Majesty took a decided interest in this portion of his army, and there were few regiments in a more effective state than the one Lord Buckingham commanded. By this time, the Volunteer Associations formed a most important feature in the military resources of the nation. They amounted to 300,000 men, well equipped, and admirably adapted for home service. Bonaparte's ostentatious preparations for invasion had roused the spirit of the people; and constant drilling, in a few months, made almost every man a soldier, no matter what his station or calling. The correspondence of this period, consequently, abounds with details of the state and prospects of the militia service, in increasing and improving which, both the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Grenville had greatly distinguished themselves. The military and naval force of the country, at this period, is estimated at 615,000 men.

Addington now endeavoured to strengthen his ranks by the accession of Mr. Tierney, as Treasurer of the Navy; an act that shows how completely he had cast off Mr. Pitt, to whom Tierney was known to be personally hostile. He was also indefatigable in striving to keep together his parliamentary supporters, to resist a motion that was about to be levelled at his government.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Aug. 31, 1803.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I received yesterday your letter with the commission of Vice-Lieutenant, and I will endeavour to execute the business with as little trouble to you, as my ignorance of it can permit.

I have not yet received the list of officers for the middle regiment (infantry.) When I do, I will send the whole in to government. Our arrangements are complete here. They are a little varied from what we had settled at Stowe. Instead of four companies for each of our three hundreds, we have five for Burnham, four Desborough, and three Stoke. But the numbers on the whole remain the same, viz., 114 more than our quota.

For this number we shall have to draw on the Ashendon Hundred for £285, besides the 2s. 6d. per parish for each day's exercise.

I had some difficulty, particularly at Amersham where we made the principal increase, to persuade the leading people that this additional expense would not fall on them, and I was obliged at last to pledge my own personal guarantee, that the Ashendon Hundred should pay us for this increased number, shilling for shilling of what we raise for our own quota; which is 20s. exercise money by act of parliament, and 30s. subscription as by your plan, besides the two-and-sixpences.

As we begin mustering on Sunday next, and as I think it very adviseable to pay the men their shilling a day as it goes on, I must trouble you to let me know who I must correspond with for this purpose in the Ashendon Hundred. I do not even know who the inspectors in that Hundred are. Till I can do this, I must, I believe, advance the money my-

self, so you see I have reason to be desirous of a speedy arrangement.

I have taken it for granted here that the 20s. exercise money must come from the parishes. I have no doubt it is so meant, though I know not by what law; but I have written to Yorke to ask the question.

Yours most affectionately,

G.

I promised Walter and Mason yesterday, to apply to you to send us two or three men from the regiment to drill our companies. I have also written to government to know whether they supply us with any invalids. You will of course send what answer you think best, only enable me to say that I have applied to you.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sept. 6, 1803.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

Unless there is some other act on the subject than cap. 96, and 121. I quite agree with you, that there is no power to raise the 20s. exercise money (nor even the 2s. 6d. training money,) on the parishes. But I have written to Yorke to ask the question, and his answer is, that it is conceived that the money may be raised for volunteers under the Defence Act, but that he has referred the question to the crown lawyers; and I know crown lawyers well enough to know, that if there is even a doubt of the power, they will report against it. I shall apply to him to-day, to know how and where I am to apply for the 20s. clothing money, and for the 20s. exercise money, and 2s. 6d. training money, if not levied on the parishes. We have, at last, got our men mustered and are going on.

With respect to the 114 men, I am sure you must remember

that I mentioned to you at Stowe, that as our subscription is 30s. per man, we could not take upon ourselves the addition at a less rate; and to this point which was distinctly stated to me, I am personally pledged to the Amersham people, as the only condition on which they agreed to raise ninety men, instead of between forty and fifty, and without this we could not have made our arrangement. In these parishes, we have almost universally done it by subscription, but it would create a serious misunderstanding and clamour, if besides taking upon ourselves the men of Ashendon, we also raise money for them upon these Hundreds. And what I have already seen satisfies me (and I could, I am sure, convince you) that no economy will make twenty shillings answer the necessary expense.

As this subscription cannot, in any case be levied by order of magistrates, I must trouble you to write to Lee or Brown on the subject, if they are the proper persons; for if the Ashendon Hundred does not pay £171, I must, having expressly so promised.

I enclose the list of volunteer infantry officers, all but Cottesloe, which is postponed, and I thought I could not decently wait for that any longer, as the corps has been near a fortnight ago reported and accepted. The yeomanry list is the same as you had made out for you at Stowe, with the addition of two cornets, Kingston and Crafts to Clayton's squadron, which makes us complete all but one lieutenant of the same squadron.

As for clothing, I waited for a pattern and prices from Box, but I have written to Mansell who has promised that he shall now send them, and I will then call a committee of subscribers and settle the business. Yorke has called for a demand for arms in the proportion of one-quarter in the first instance, which I have sent accordingly, and he has directed me to recommend arming one-third of the number with pikes. I shall send an extract of his letter to Lloyd, Lord

Hampden, Clarke, and Mansell—they will answer it as they please.

I inclose a copy of our infantry rules.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Sept. 12, 1803.

My Lord,

I had an opportunity the very morning I received your letter, of expressing your thanks to the King, and of saying how much you felt at the kindness of his Majesty's remarks about Lord Temple. He repeated the same expressions of approbation respecting the Royal Bucks, and, if possible, in stronger language. He had heard of your intention of resigning the command of the regiment to Lord Temple; and said, he was convinced your state of health would not enable you (from the reports he had heard) to continue it. He spoke with great satisfaction of the zeal and activity which had been shown in Buckinghamshire relative to the yeomen and volunteers. He was quite surprised, when I told him the number of the former, as he had understood they were not so numerous. He said, that Lord Boston had told him the volunteers had been formed into two regiments of 1100 each, and that he had enrolled as a lieutenant of a company raised at his place.

Lord Grenville was on the Terrace the other night; and, after he went away, I heard much of the activity and zeal which he was showing, in forming the yeomanry and volunteers.

I suppose your Lordship has heard of the new brevet of generals; it goes down to Colonel Spencer. There is likewise a brevet of lieutenant-generals, and so on upwards. There will be eight aide-de-camps of the King vacant.

Lord Cathcart goes immediately to Ireland. I send your Lordship a letter I received this morning from Astle. With respect to myself and the clerks, there will be no difficulty, as I shall give in the legal allowance of £2000; namely, £1000 to

myself, and the other among the clerks, and deduct the £5 per cent upon that sum. You will let me know what your Lordship claims about your own receipts, and I will act acccordingly; but there is no hurry, as I am very sure it will be too difficult to act upon the present Income Bill (from what I have seen of it) till it is amended.

I am so thoroughly persuaded the French have given over all intention of coming here this summer, that I am going, with my family, on a visit to Lord Bulkely, and shall set off in a few days. Should I hear of a landing, at any time, during my tour, you may depend upon my posting to Buckingham immediately, in order to be at my post.

There never was anything equal to the violence and anger of the Prince of Wales at not being employed. He is showing his correspondence right and left. I have heard that Lord Hutchinson advises him; I don't know whether this is true.

The Prince of Wales had applied for a command in the army, corresponding with his rank; but, neither his Royal Highness's antecedents, nor his military knowledge, appeared to inspire confidence in the government. Possibly, the result of having entrusted the Duke of York with the conduct of an expedition, exerted some influence upon their decision. The King's refusal to accept his Royal Highness's services, the Prince chose to receive as an especial wrong, and, for some time, it became a favourite grievance.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sept. 20, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

The idea of issuing to us, *in October*, 209 muskets, to arm

2579 men, is so extravagant, that I think it cannot be persisted in. I have written a stout remonstrance against it to-day, but I suspect these are only tricks to draw us into a correspondence about it, they having no arms to issue to us. I heartily wish I saw grounds for your confidence that the attack will not be attempted in October. I think I have good grounds to believe the contrary; and if our neighbouring counties are no better prepared than we are, it will not be the volunteer force, at least, that will save us. I was as averse to distributing pikes as you can be, but when you read the correspondence, you will see that Yorke positively ordered me to take the opinion of the volunteer officers on the subject; and the result was, that they wished to have them rather than nothing, in order to keep the men, I will not say satisfied, but somewhat less dissatisfied than at present. To apply for powder now really would be useless. I have pressed so much for the arms, that I expect an angry answer, bidding me obey orders, and mind my own business.

Ireland is, indeed, a dreadful chapter; but our consciences are clear, and that is all that men, who cannot mend the thing, have to console themselves with. I was in town for a day last week, and heard, from the same quarter as you did, the story about Lord Redesdale.

I am grieved to see that you do not find yourself well. All these topics are, indeed, dismal enough; but one must make the best of them, and not suffer your mind to rest upon them.

Wyndham's Cromer volunteers are comical enough. Have you read the Addington manifesto, and did not the *dose* rejoice your heart? It has mine.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Sept. 26, 1803.

My dearest Brother,

I have, at last, got from the Ordnance a letter, notifying that

they have ordered the issue of 899 muskets, and ditto pikes, with drums, &c., according to the proportions which I had sent. In a few days, therefore, we may probably receive them. But if you cannot spare us some militia men to drill them, the arms will not be of much use. I wrote long since to Yorke about invalids, and was promised an answer, but got none.

I am quite surprised to hear from Tom that you think the danger over for this year. My intelligence, which is not from a bad quarter, says the direct reverse; and as I know that no human creature could have bestowed on the object a more unremitting attention, than both you and I have done, and as I have the mortification of seeing how very little we are yet advanced, I cannot hope that the preparations (as far as relates to volunteer force) are much more forward anywhere else.

You have not answered my question about your return, which I had wished to know, on account of settling with Gwynn, who has postponed all directions for internal arrangements in this county till he sees you. But as the thing begins to press, and as Tom seems very confident that you are not likely to return to Stowe so soon as you had proposed, I have written to him to say so, and to propose to him to come here to review us on the 13th, and have told him that after that, I shall be at his orders to attend him to any other part of the county, or to make the arrangements with him here, as he may choose, supposing, always, that you should not be returned by that time.

I wish I could say that even our own regiments of yeomanry were in a state to which we could look with confidence, for much useful service, in a moment when it seems so likely that we shall be called upon for whatever we can do. We must, however, do our best; and, I am sure, I have, at least, nothing to reproach myself with, as having left undone anything on this subject that I ought to do, or could do.

I send you the rough draft of the return of this regiment, as it is to be sent at the end of this month. You will see that we

are on a very regular establishment of eight troops of fifties, all but the Amersham squadron, which has 155 men of all ranks. In order to remove this incongruity, which will much hurt the uniformity of our appearance when seen together, and would even interfere with our movements in line with other regiments, by making two half squadrons so much larger than the rest, Mason has proposed an expedient, which I think an admirable one, and mean to recommend to government for immediate adoption, as soon as I can settle with Mason a few details, which I hope will be to-morrow or next day. It is to form a troop of horse artillery out of his squadron, to be attached to the regiment, or to the brigade, whenever we act in brigade. This will bring our numbers even, and will be a most valuable accession of strength to us. We shall want for this, from government, no additional allowances, or aid of any sort, except they will give us the guns, which I mean to apply for; but, if they refuse them, we must buy them ourselves. All this is, however, of remote utility; and a few weeks may, probably, decide the fate of this country. Perhaps it is better that it should be so, than that the experiment should be delayed till next year, when, I fear, much of the zeal and private exertion that has appeared now, will have been very much cooled and depressed.

Ever, my dear brother,
Most affectionate.

Among the most earnest speakers in the House of Lords, Lord Grenville again made himself prominent, soon after the opening of a new Session, though he did not address the House so frequently. The Ministry contrived to retain their places; but the want of energy they displayed, at a period that demanded untiring zeal, excited the misgivings of their abler political rivals. The negotiations which were then pending for a coalition of

the most influential European powers, to resist the encroachments of France, must, however, have prevented anything like an approach to a peace policy. Lord Grenville was in error, if he considered Mr. Addington entertained such ideas. The "recommendations" he alludes to, were to have been hazarded by Mr. Fox, who rarely, at this time, took part in any war debate, without attempting to throw cold water upon the enthusiasm of the country. Lord Grenville's opinion respecting Bonaparte, was justified by the intelligence which reached England of his proceedings. Mr. Fox, however, backed the Ministry in opposition to Mr. Pitt; and a subsequent letter affords grounds for believing that Addington was not indifferent to such support, and gave apparent attention to the peaceable suggestions that came from that quarter.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Malvern Wells, Oct. 26, 1803.

I direct this at hazard to Pall Mall, hoping that it will not have to follow you to Brest; though I cannot help feeling a little uneasy at the cruizing project, at a time when all the Western coasts swarm with French and American privateers.

I write from Malvern, where I am come for a few days, to take Lady Grenville back to Dropmore. She has been two months here, while I was in Cornwall. My project is to be in town for the meeting. You know I have very nearly done with speechifying; and, even now, I can hardly help wondering at my own folly in thinking it worth while to leave my books and garden, even for one day's attendance in the House of Lords.

But I have received intimation, from which I collect that there is some disposition to hazard in both Houses, from

our side of the way, certain recommendations in favour of negotiations for peace; and I cannot reconcile it to myself to leave my utter disapprobation of all such language to be guessed at, merely from my absence.

Peace I desire most fervently; no person in the country, I am sure, desires it more than I do; and few have had such opportunities of knowing how necessary it is to us. But, then, I am confident that there is no hope of peace for Europe, or for England, but by raising up some sufficient barrier against Bonaparte's ambition, which aims at universal empire,* not in the figurative, but in the most literal acceptation of those terms. This great work, I have long been convinced, could not be accomplished but by the union of the three great continental powers. That the insolence of France would ultimately produce that union, I firmly believed; and, until it took place, I was always averse to wasting the resources of this country in separate, and, therefore, ineffectual exertions. But now that this union is formed, and that these powers seem really convinced that they are fighting their own cause—not ours alone—it would, I think, be no less impolitic, than disgraceful, for this country to be the

* That this opinion was not the mere ebullition of a partisan who had been held up to the hatred of the French people for his inveterate animosity to France, may be proved by reference to an admission made by no less creditable a witness than M. Thiers:—"A sudden revolution had taken place in the excitcable and passionate spirit of Napoleon. From those prospects of a laborious and fruitful peace on which but lately he delighted to feast his active imagination, he turned all at once to those visions of war, of prodigious greatness attained by victory, of the renewal of the aspect of Europe, of the re-establishment of the empire of the west, which but too often haunted his mind. From the benefactor of France and of the world, as he flattered himself he should be, he resolved to become the wonder of both. A wrath at once personal and patriotic took entire possession of him; and *to conquer England, to humble her, to abase her, to destroy her, became from that day the passion of his life.*"—*History of the Consulate and the Empire*, Vol. IV, p. 263.

first to hold such language, or to take such steps as may lead to the separation of the alliance.

I am not so sanguine as many are, in my hopes of success, because I well know how much there is to do; but, God forbid that I should persuade this country to desert the cause of Europe, so long as there is any chance—and such there certainly now is—that Europe will fight for its own independence.

Some such language as this, I think I shall find it necessary to use on the first day; not for any use that it can be of to the public—for the House of Lords would vote by a large majority to-day for continuing the war, and would to-morrow just as readily approve of another peace of Amiens—but merely for the satisfaction of stating my own sentiments in such a crisis. I wish there was any chance of your being in town; but that, I fear, is out of the question.

Ever most affectionately yours,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Thursday, Nov. 25.

My dearest Brother,

The papers will give you a much better account than I can of the debate yesterday, which I was not a party to, as I had not any expectation of debate. You will see by that as well as by the language of the former day, that government has determined to take the lowest possible tone, and at all events, to patch up peace with France on any terms; to this they are encouraged by the strong and active support of Fox, and of all his friends, who in dread of Pitt's coming back to power, are now moving heaven and earth to support Addington's administration; and Addington and his friends are evidently inviting that support, and are trying to find in it a supplement for the loss of that support, which they so completely commanded last Session. The inclination which naturally prevails on the side

of peace, is certainly favourable in the House, under the present circumstances, to this new coalition, which yesterday, as I hear, placed Fox in close whisper with Addington on the Treasury Bench for eight or ten minutes; but still so prevailing is the opinion of the inefficiency of the present Ministers, that it is thought no support can sustain them, without their bringing new strength into office, and any such, when brought from the opposite benches, would quickly make an absolute cypher of Addington and of Hawkesbury. The public and the government appear to be equally lookers-on in the present moment, and the general voice, is that, though this cannot last, it is impossible to foresee what is to be the result.

Everybody tells me that Lord Grenville's speech on the first day, was the best he ever made, because it was vigorous, spirited, and compact, and as it did not exceed an hour, did not try the patience of any one of the audience. But whatever was his speech, or whatever be the political speculations I have talked of, the mischief is that every day of Fox's continuing to force Addington into peace (that is,) into a helpless state of disarmament, lessens all possible chance of the spirit of the country being kept up; and if both our spirit and our means are hourly wasting away, what signifies it who at last is to have the wretched pre-eminence of holding the rule of the country, at a time when it is sinking under the foot of its old and inveterate enemy? This is the real evil that preys upon my mind; but yet nothing shall discourage me while anything still remains.

The close of the St. Domingo struggle is narrated in the following letter. No enterprise, suggested by Bonaparte, had terminated so terribly. Of nearly 32,000 men sent from France, the negroes, and the yellow fever, had destroyed three-fourths; and among those who had ingloriously perished, we are told that there were more

than twenty generals.* The gallant officer who furnishes the following statement, does not appear to have felt much sympathy for either party.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, Dec. 21, 1803.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

As you will naturally wish to know the present state of St. Domingo, I have the pleasure to inform you, that it is entirely evacuated by the French troops, which have been brought to Jamaica as prisoners-of-war, together with 'La Surveillante,' 'La Clorinde,' and 'La Vertu,' frigates, and 'Le Cerf,' brig-of-war, as prizes to our squadron. I should, however, except the city of Santo Domingo, which has not yet capitulated, but the garrison of which is daily expected here, the place being closely blockaded by sea and land.

Rochambeau capitulated with Dessalines, the brigand chief, and has left all his artillery and stores at Cape François, as the French, indeed, have done everywhere, so that the brigands are well provided with everything they wanted to defend themselves against any future attempt.

We have 7000 French prisoners-of-war in Jamaica, including nearly 1000 officers, of all descriptions, on their parole on shore. Monsieur Rochambeau, and his staff, go immediately to England in the 'Révolutionnaire' frigate; but we have no prospect of getting rid of the other prisoners, having neither vessels nor seamen to convey them, nor troops to spare to guard them to England.

I have collected 400 recruits from the prison ships—Germans, Swiss, and Poles—for the battalions of the 60th regiment here,

* Thiers.

and expect to procure more, as we cannot at present receive reinforcements from England. About 30,000 emigrants, from St. Domingo, of all sexes and colours, have taken refuge in Cuba; and, in the event of a Spanish war, we may have something to apprehend from that quarter; but we are upon the best terms with the brigands of the former island, and are going to renew our treaty with them, to prevent their navigation, for the security of Jamaica. I am getting rid of all the emigrants, and their foreign slaves, as fast as possible, out of this island (with the exception of those who may remain with safety to the community) by paying their passage to New Orleans, &c.; and we have prevented the possibility of any others arriving in Jamaica, upon the late evacuation of St. Domingo, from whom we might have had much to fear.

The Assembly of Jamaica are still obstinate in their opposition to the demands of government, for the support of their military establishment; but I have succeeded in placing the barracks, and the troops, in a very improved state, which were essential objects.

The militia have been also very much improved; their arms and clothing regulated, and all exemptions from service—excepting the brevets appointed by my predecessors—taken away by law. I have been twice on a reviewing tour round the island, which is an operation of two months annually, and propose to make a third next year; but having obtained the rank of lieutenant-general, and being thoroughly tired of the climate and bad society of Jamaica, I shall apply soon to be relieved from the situation.

This is an anxious period with all of us; and we are deeply interested in the proceedings of Bonaparte and our countrymen. If the French, however, prove to be no more formidable in other parts of the world, than they have been in St. Domingo, they will soon be discomfited on British ground. There it is to be hoped that the motto of our good old King will be exemplified, as

Providence will not permit the only free country on earth, and the only refuge for good subjects of all nations, to become a prey to so lawless, and so sacrilegious a banditti, as Bonaparte and his myrmidons.

I rather fear for the security of Ireland, where the French might certainly make a serious impression, could they transport a considerable force there; but, fortunately, that cannot be done in boats; and it is to be hoped that Fortune will be on our side, Bonaparte having tempted her too far in his late declarations. I must own that I feel my absence from England, at this critical moment, in a very serious manner, as every good subject must upon this occasion, wish to contribute his mite to the defence of his native country, and to rally round his King.

Bonaparte has, probably, other secret objects in view, to which he means to blind us by his menaced invasion; but it seems to be a general opinion that he will make the attempt upon England, and perhaps it may be best that he should, in order to do away with the constant bugbear which that threat creates there. It is not to be denied, certainly, that there never were such formidable demonstrations, for the purpose, on the part of the enemy; but at the same time, we may truly say that never was a country so unanimous in the determination to resist it effectually, or die in the attempt.

I enclose a copy of the capitulation of Cape François, which is very humiliating to the French. It is amusing to see the misapplication of terms made use of by both parties therein; such as the justice of General Rochambeau, and the humanity of General Dessalines, the former having proved himself the greatest tyrant, and the latter, the very greatest brute of his species.

I have the honour to be,
My dear Lord Buckingham,
With the most grateful attachment,
Your affectionate humble servant,
G. NUGENT.

1804.

THE COALITION OF LORD GRENVILLE, PITT, AND FOX—OVERTHROW OF THE ADDINGTON ADMINISTRATION—LORD GRENVILLE DECLINES TO JOIN MR. PITT'S ADMINISTRATION, THE KING HAVING EXCLUDED MR. FOX—ROYAL RECONCILIATIONS AND DISAGREEMENTS—THE PRINCESS CHARLOTTE'S EDUCATION.

POLITICAL parties in England, at the commencement of the year 1804, bore some resemblance to larger societies on the continent, that, from contiguity, were likely to be most affected by the development of that new power, towards which all looked with equal wonder and alarm. They were alike, if we may be permitted the expression, with a very distinct difference. The French government was as distinguished for vigour as the English for weakness; and the states that breathlessly watched every demonstration of policy made by the great commander who directed the councils of France, were as remarkable for indecision and folly as the influential public men in England, whose attention was directed to the incapable minister to whom had been intrusted the safety of their country, were remarkable for boldness and sagacity. The

period was equally critical for the British empire, as for either of the European powers accessible to the advancing tide of French conquest; and perilous as may have been previous years, at no time was it more essential to the security of England to have the helm of the state directed by some one thoroughly acquainted with the hazardous navigation before him, and able to carry the vessel safely through any storm that might arise out of the various conflicting elements which had already began to darken the horizon.

In more than one influential quarter, the impression of Mr. Addington's unfitness for the position he held, had become a conviction. Wilberforce, charmed by the Minister's social courtesy, appears to have entertained a more favourable opinion of his talents than most of his cotemporaries would have pronounced. He was, however, just the agreeable, superficial, easy, great man likely to please a politician of the peculiar type of Mr. Wilberforce. With such a nature, Addington was sure of a higher appreciation than could have been bestowed upon the cold reserve of William Pitt, or the inflexible decision of Lord Grenville. This appreciation he enjoyed joined with all that warmth of heart which must necessarily have characterised the friendship of such a man. No one, therefore, can be surprised at finding Wilberforce striving earnestly to maintain his friend in power, by seeking to draw towards him efficient support. For that support he looked to Pitt, who had not only withdrawn his counsel from the Premier, but had evinced a decided hostility to his measures.

The conduct of the ex-Chancellor of the Exchequer continued extremely ambiguous. His communications with Lord Grenville were apparently of the most confidential character—every day seemed to bring their ideas into more perfect unison. There could be no question that they thought alike of the impotency of the existing government, and that they held similar opinions as to the dangers which menaced England from the imperfectly concealed designs of France. Yet, the result proved that Pitt did not return the confidence with which he was treated. He heard all that could be told him of the ideas of his late colleagues on every point on which they were likely to think and act alike, but committed himself to no agreement that might prevent him, on any emergency, from thinking and acting differently. As the reader traces the progress of this distinguished statesman in the more important political transactions of this year, he will not fail to remark some startling inconsistencies. We cannot satisfactorily explain his motives, nor make his proceedings accord with the anticipations naturally arising from his antecedents. The following documents, however, throw an occasional light upon the various negotiations in which he prominently figured, and may assist in dispelling the mystification in which they have hitherto been involved.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Jan. 5, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

The enclosed will show that I had anticipated your wishes, and that the letter you mention was already gone. The answer

is in many respects satisfactory, though by no means decisive of any intention. I must now, of course, wait till I hear again. I wish I had brought my letter here that I might have sent it you, but I will, when I get back, and I will then beg you to return them me together. Have the goodness to show these to Tom. He will see that till I hear again, all projects of any other excursion must be out of the question.

I am come here only for a day, to settle finally about Lord Harrowby's house, which your kindness has enabled me to take on the terms proposed. I found on enquiry that, dear as it seemed to me, the price is not above what such a house would now be valued at. The house itself we are both much pleased with, its size being rather a recommendation than an objection in our eyes, and in respect to situation, neatness, and airiness, it is just what we wished. It will be no small addition to the comfort we shall derive from it, to reflect that we shall owe that, as well as so many other of the comforts of our life, to your unwearied kindness.

I have literally seen no human creature here, nor do I know that there is one person in town, who could tell me what is going on. From my friend whom Tom will have told you I expected at Dropmore, I had much and very curious and interesting communication, but not such as I can trust to the post.

I wish you would beg Davis to send me the notes he mentions he has collected about N. Bacon, as my work has gone to the press, having this day been put into Mr. Payne's hands. The Bishop will have told you how Lord Chatham and I turn out to be such furious Jacobins, that the Clarendon Press rejects us with horror.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

Tom asked me, and seemed to expect that I should learn

from my visitor, what the Doctor's mysterious declaration in answer to Fox's question, could possibly mean? It meant as usual with the Doctor's mysteries—nothing at all, and the whole assertion was, as is no less usual with the Doctor's assertions—a lye.

The next note conveys a lively idea of Mr. Pitt's proceedings with his political friends at this period. He made no secret of his hostility to the administration, and nothing seemed farther from his mind than co-operation with his "friend and successor."

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Grosvenor Square, Jan. 30, 1804.

I came here yesterday to meet the person, [Mr. Pitt,] to whom I wrote. I may be able to send you a detail by a safer opportunity, but there is little worth talking of. The same ideas prevail and nearly the same course will be pursued. The most decided hatred and contempt of those who have done so much to provoke both, but views of middle lines, and managements and delicacies *ou l'on se perd.*

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Feb. 3, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

I do not answer your letter at any length, first, because the subject is more made for conversation than correspondence; and next, because in addition to your own assurances of being in town in a few days, I have the authority of your son for having some expectation of seeing you as early as Tuesday next. Nothing very material has passed since my last letter in addition to what I told you.

Admiral Berkeley, at his friends' solicitation, had determined to waive his motion to-day, and, therefore, told Yorke yesterday privately, that he should do so to-day, to which Yorke, with many compliments to the Admiral, observed "that he could not unsay what he had said;" and this morning wrote again to Admiral Berkeley, to say that business would prevent him being at the House to-day, and that Mr. Addington would say something on the part of government, and that if the Admiral wished him (Yorke) to be present, that he would be so on Monday or Tuesday; to the latter of those two days, therefore, I hope the Admiral will defer his recall of his notice. By what I continue to hear of the eagerness for the resumption of what had been deferred, I have little idea that the discussion can do any other than take place; and when it does, I continue to think that it will do good and harm such as we have often talked over.

Our West India fleet is quite dispersed; only forty are come in out of about one hundred and twenty.

On the re-assembling of parliament on the 1st of February, the Minister became aware of the extent of the combination arrayed against him. In the Diary of Mr. Abbot* (Lord Colchester), there are several entries during this month, which state that the Grenvilles made overtures to Fox to join Pitt and their party in overthrowing the government, to which Fox acceded, though many of his connections, in consequence, separated from him. "So have said the Duke of Newcastle, Sheridan, Erskine, and others. Mr. Pitt palliates the conduct of the Grenvilles, though he

* Great use is made of this in the "Life of Lord Sidmouth," which is all the use apparently that could be made of it, it being throughout Lord Sidmouth at second-hand.

does not join them, or declare what his own line will be." As regards a coalition to embrace the leading men of all parties, the reader is aware that the idea of it was submitted to Mr. Pitt many months since. It was one not likely to obtain his concurrence, his relations with Fox and some other able men to be included, having long been the reverse of amicable; but a conviction of its wisdom must have gained upon a mind so sagacious, and, therefore, we are not surprised at the opening of the parliamentary session of 1804, to find in the conduct of these three distinguished men, indications of a common object. With regard to the assertion that the friends of Fox abandoned him on his junction with Lord Grenville, it is entitled to about as much respect as nine-tenths of the statements in the same diary. One or two of them were certainly to be found in the ranks of the Minister, but they had previously been bought over. Mr. Addington had been unremitting in his attentions to the cleverest of the party. Sheridan observed to him, one evening, after a dinner at Richmond Park: "My visits to you may possibly be misconstrued by my friends; but I hope you know, Mr. Addington, that I have an unpurchaseable mind."* The Minister does not seem to have taken the hint, unless he employed the influence he may have acquired by some services he had rendered the Prince of Wales in increasing the income of his Royal Highness, and arranging the payment of his debts, to suggest Sheridan's appointment as Receiver-General of the County of Cornwall, which excellent gift Sheridan immediately acknowledged in a letter to Mr. Addington. He,

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II.

however, did not long vote with government. When the Prince joined the coalition, "the unpurchaseable mind" voted against his friend.

As for Erskine, it is clear, from a letter quoted by the Dean of Norwich,* that several months before, he was of opinion that the proposed coalition of Pitt and Fox was "a disgusting measure" that never could happen. Notwithstanding the severe terms in which he mentions the Grenvilles in this document, Mr. Erskine did not disdain, some short time afterwards, to owe his highest professional honours to Lord Grenville, and to be associated with him in an administration which he therein prophesied would be "the greatest evil and calamity which could overtake England."

We trace the plan of the political campaign in the proceedings of the Houses of Parliament, more particularly in the Commons, where Pitt, on the 27th of February, at the second reading of the Volunteer Consolidation Bill, passed severe reflections on the conduct of the administration. A more decided attack was made on the 15th of March, when he moved for a series of papers relating to the naval defence of the country. Notwithstanding the severity of his strictures, the influence of the Crown enabled the Minister to show, on the division, a majority of 201 against 130. Constituted as such a majority was, it could not effectually defend an administration subject to continual attack from the phalanx of talent nightly arrayed against them. The Easter recess gave them a brief interval of rest, but, on the 5th of April, the legis-

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 256.

lative business was resumed, and it soon became evident that every succeeding day lessened the confidence of the government, and expanded the prospects of the Opposition.

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL TEMPLE.

Camelford House, April 11, 1804.

My dear Lord Temple,

Your letter followed me to Dropmore, where I went for two or three days to enliven the interval of our Volunteer Committee in the House of Lords, by the delights of yeomaning in one of the coldest north-east winds I ever felt. I was, therefore, unable to give you any idea of the plan of operations in the House of Commons; but I think every day now is likely to bring forward business, on which we ought to have as full an attendance as possible. Pitt comes, I understand, in a day or two; and with dispositions, as I hear, of increased hostility to the government, so that we may look to strong divisions.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, April 16, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

You will have seen in the papers the resolutions of the meeting of Lord-Lieutenants and military officers, against the Irish Military Bills. They are about to publish a new edition with a long list of names, by way of accession to the former list. Have you any objection (I imagine not) to authorizing me to sign yours, to be printed with the rest.

There is a great probability of a good division on the subject, in the House of Lords, on Thursday or Friday. I have desired

Cowper to send you down a proxy, which you will have the goodness to return, either to him or to me.

I have not written to the Bishop of Bangor for his, though the Bishop of Lincoln is ready to take it, and to use it, while he remains in town, in the way that we should wish. I thought such an application might probably distress him, as I have had no late opportunity of hearing what his political opinions may be; and I should be truly sorry to put him under the smallest difficulty, if he should happen not exactly to go along with us, in all that we think it right for us to do. Perhaps without the ceremony of a direct request, obliging him to say either yes or no, you could contrive to let him know, that if he is so disposed, there is a possibility of his helping, without the trouble of personal attendance.

Pitt comes to town to-day, on purpose to oppose the third reading of the Irish Bill, and he is to support Fox's motion.

We are to have the same motion in the House of Lords moved by Lord Stafford.* It will come on, I guess, about the beginning or middle of next week.

The Ministerial measure known as the Irish Militia Augmentation Bill, in spite of strong opposition from the Grenville party, passed the House of Commons this month. One of the provisions that excited most dissatisfaction, permitted 10,000 men of this force to serve in England. In replying to a violent attack upon this bill from Mr. Fox, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House with the extent of the military resources of the country, by which it appeared that the regular army and militia amounted to 184,000 men, and the volunteers to 400,000; all provided

* George Granville, second Marquis. Succeeded his father 28th Oct., 1803. Created Duke of Sutherland 14th Jan., 1833. Died July 19th of the same year.

with arms, except 15,000 or 20,000. In a subsequent speech he included 27,000 sea-fencibles.

The motion of Mr. Fox to refer to a committee the revisal of the several bills passed during the present and preceding Session for the defence of the country, was brought forward by him on the 23rd of April, in an able speech, in which he attacked the policy of the administration. After a reply from the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Pitt supported the motion, and was extremely severe upon the ricketty and defective measures brought forward by Ministers. "If energy," he said, "appeared at any time in their plans, it was soon nipped and destroyed by their irresolution. Could such men charge themselves," he asked, "with the defence of the country, impressed, as they must be with a conviction of their own incompetence?" After an animated debate, the House divided, and Ministers were found to be in a majority of fifty-two. But they became more and more sensible that the combination arrayed against them was too powerful for them to contend with for any length of time.

We have looked in vain through the biography of Mr. Addington for any reference to the message sent by him to Mr. Pitt mentioned in the next letter.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 19, 1804.

Yesterday Pitt wrote to desire me to call upon him, which was for the purpose of telling me that Addington, since the division of Monday, had sent a message to him to desire to know whether he was willing to state, through any common friend, what his opinions are as to the present state of things, and

the steps to be taken for carrying on the King's affairs. Pitt's answer was, that neither through a common friend, nor in any other mode, could he make any such statement to Mr. Addington, or for his information; but that if the King thought proper to signify to him, through any person with whom he could hold such communication, his commands to that effect, it would be his duty to state to such person, and for his Majesty's information, his unreserved opinion as to the steps which ought to be taken for the establishment of a new government. The reply to this was, that Mr. Addington acquiesced in this decision, and was to see his Majesty yesterday, or to-day—I am not quite sure which—for the purpose of submitting to his Majesty his humble advice, that his Majesty should, without delay, commission the Chancellor to see Mr. Pitt, and to receive from him the communication of his opinion on the present state of affairs.

This has been communicated by Pitt to Fox; and it has been further explained both to him and me, that although Pitt does not pledge himself not to obey the commands he may receive for attempting to form an exclusive government, yet that his earnest endeavour will be used for his own sake, as well as for that of the King and the country, to induce his Majesty to authorize him to converse with Fox and me, on the means of forming an united government.

Here the matter now rests; and, in the meantime, it is determined on all hands to be indispensably necessary, that the course in parliament which has produced this tardy and reluctant step, should be pursued without reference to it. Pitt opposes Yorke's bill on Friday. Fox's motion is to come on next Monday; and to-day, Lord Stafford gives notice of a similar motion for Friday se'night, in the House of Lords. There is great reason to think that our divisions will be strong indeed on all these questions. If you should not be in town before Friday, pray do not forget to return me your proxy; but I rather hope that you will come,

as I shall be most anxious to converse with you on all these points as they arise.

You will observe that all this supposes the King in a state to receive such a communication from Addington, and to undergo all the fatigue of body and mind to which it must unavoidably lead, if even he should be disposed to act at once as reason, policy, and the real interests of himself, his family, and his people require. I cannot say that I believe him to be equal even to the very first entering upon such a business; and if the state of public affairs were such as would allow of our postponing the whole question, most willingly would I lend him my assistance (without his knowing that I did so) for warding off from him the difficulties of such a scene. But this, I know, is impossible. To trust the country for another year, in such times as these, to such management as we are now under, would be, in all reasonable calculation, inevitable ruin; and if in measuring one's conduct upon such a subject, one could look to the King's health alone, the only possible means of securing his peace of mind, is to do the best for guarding the kingdom against the dangers now ready to burst upon us, and which, if not better provided against than they now are, must, when they come, infallibly overthrow his reason in the first instance; but, probably, with that, destroy himself, his family, and his kingdom.

The conflict was daily becoming more severe; and the flag of truce sent from the ministerial camp, showed which party was most affected by it. There was a division on Mr. Fox's motion, which was debated on the 23rd, and the Opposition, including the party of the Prince of Wales, mustered 204; but still in a minority of fifty-two. Pitt and Fox had been very severe, but their powerful batteries were opened with renewed vigour on the 25th; and, on the division, the majority was reduced to thirty-seven.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

April 26, 1804.

I understand that you have fixed to be in town on Sunday. I rather guess you will find things in *statu quo*, though last night's division was a staggering blow. I was exactly right in my calculation on Tuesday's division, though five of those (if not more,) who had before voted with us, were absent from illness or accident.

If my lists are correct (and I doubt about one or two at most,) we have already had sixty-eight that have voted with us. We have ten more quite certain, and ten or twelve more so very hopeful, that we might be almost justified in reckoning on a division of ninety for Monday, if it were not that allowance must be made for accidental absence, and illness, especially as Monday will probably be a very long day.

I calculate, therefore, on no more than eighty, and I hardly see how it is possible we should be disappointed of that number.

I know Pitt reckons with certainty on Lord Waterford* and the Archbishop of Tuam, but I do not know his grounds; the latter voted against us on Tuesday, but it was an Irish question, and I do not include them in the eighty.

I shall have much to say when we meet. My wish is, that this warfare may last a fortnight longer, in order to unite and to consolidate our army, and I rather think it will be so.

You may rely upon it, from the most indisputable authority, that the King went through his Council with every appearance of being perfectly well. It is said that the Archbishop of Canterbury was not allowed in.

* Henry de la Poer, second Marquis. He died July 6, 1826.

The struggle ended with the King sending for Mr. Pitt, who, after a short negotiation, was authorised to form an administration. He made proposals to Lord Grenville to join him. The reply appears in the following masterly exposition of the writer's principles and views at this juncture. The King, it had been stated to him, would not hear of any measure for the removal of the Roman Catholic Disabilities; nor would his Majesty listen to any proposal for engaging the services of Mr. Fox. Lord Grenville would not allow himself to become an agent for developing such a policy, and therefore declined the honour of office.

LORD GRENVILLE TO MR. PITT.

May 8, 1804.

My dear Pitt,

I have already apprised you that all the persons, to whom, at your desire, I communicated what passed between us yesterday, agreed with me in the decided opinion, that we ought not to engage in the administration which you are now employed in forming.

We should be sincerely sorry, if by declining this proposal, we should appear less desirous than we must always be, of rendering to his Majesty to the utmost of our power, any service, of which he may be graciously pleased to think us capable. No consideration of personal ease or comfort, no apprehension of responsibility, or reluctance to meet the real situation into which the country has been brought, have any weight in this decision: nor are we fettered with any engagements on the subject, either expressed or implied; we rest our determination solely on our strong sense of the impropriety of our becoming parties to a system of government, which is to be formed at such a moment as the present, on a principle of exclusion.

It is uncecessary to dwell on the mischiefs which have already resulted from placing the great offices of government in weak and incapable hands. We see no hope of any effectual remedy for these mischiefs, but by uniting in the public service "as large a proportion as possible of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all descriptions, and without any exception." This opinion I have already had occasion to express to you in the same words, and we have for some time been publicly acting in conformity to it; nor can we, while we remain impressed with that persuasion, concur in defeating an object for which the circumstances of the present times afford at once so strong an inducement, and so favourable an occasion.

An opportunity now offers such as this country has seldom seen for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the services of all those who, by the public voice and sentiment, are judged most capable of contributing to its prosperity and safety. The wishes of the public on this subject, are completely in unison with its interests, and the advantages, which not this country alone, but all Europe and the whole civilized world might derive from the establishment of such an administration, at such a crisis, would probably have exceeded the most sanguine expectations.

We are certainly not ignorant of the difficulties which might have obstructed the final accomplishment of such an object, however earnestly pursued. But when in the very first instance all trial of it is precluded, and when this denial is made the condition of all subsequent arrangements, we cannot but feel, that there are no motives of whatever description, which could justify our taking an active part in the establishment of a system, so adverse to our deliberate and declared opinions.

Believe me ever, my dear Pitt,

Most affectionately yours,

GRENVILLE.

According to Mr. Abbot's diary, the King expressed his objections to Mr. Fox on the 7th. Lord Grenville's admirable letter is dated the following day; nevertheless, a letter has been quoted as written by Mr. Pitt, informing the King that Lord Grenville declined joining an administration, from which Mr. Fox was excluded, bearing date the 7th.* This, however, is certain, that Mr. Pitt lost no time, after receiving Lord Grenville's communication, in forming a ministry, partly among his own friends, partly from the existing administration; and on the 9th, the King wrote to the retiring Minister, proposing to create him "Earl of Banbury, Viscount Wallingford, and Baron Reading," with a considerable increase of income; which Mr. Addington gratefully, but steadily declined. He accepted nothing, though much pressed by the King, but the residence in Richmond Park, and retained only the emoluments of the Clerkship of the Pells, which he had conferred on his son.

Mr. Pitt received the seals of office on the 10th of May, but some time elapsed before his ministerial arrangements were completed.†

At this termination of the struggle, the biographer of the defeated Minister pours out many pages of indignation upon the chiefs of the coalition, by whom he was over-

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 287.

† Mr. Pitt, Chancellor of the Exchequer; Duke of Portland, President of the Council; Lord Eldon, Lord Chancellor; Earl of Westmoreland, Privy Seal; Earl of Chatham, Master-General of the Ordnance; Lord Castlereagh, President of the Board of Control; Lord Melville, First Lord of the Admiralty; Lord Harrowby, Foreign Secretary; Earl Camden, Secretary for War and the Colonies; Lord Mulgrave, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster.

thrown. Mr. Pitt comes in for his share; but again a great deal of nonsense is put forward respecting the influence of inferior minds; and Lord Grenville, though not named, is evidently indicated as the great offender in this direction. Nothing can be more clear than the honourable and straightforward character of his Lordship's opposition to Mr. Addington's government. It must, however, be acknowledged that all who opposed the Minister at this period, did not exhibit the same principles. The reader may learn from a trustworthy authority, how other parties acted in the course of the struggle.* "It would not be easy," Lord Brougham has stated, "to find anything of a more paltry kind in all the history of political intrigue."† We return to the Pitt Administration.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 21, 1804.

Many thanks to you, my dearest brother, for your letter, which confirms what so many other circumstances had already persuaded me to believe. How all this is to end, is a more difficult question.

I send you Lord Harrowby's note, which seems to show that the Chancellor means to defeat the bill by delay, which, to be sure, at this season of the year it will not be easy to avoid.

Nothing, to be sure, can be more wretched than the manner in which Pitt is eking out his government with Roses and Dundases. But this weather leaves one little inclination to come to town to do, or say, anything against it. I heartily wish you were here.

* Diary and Memoirs of Lord Malmesbury, Vol. IV.

† Statesmen of the Time of George III.

Mr. Pitt has laid himself open to censure by his conduct at this period. He had quitted office with Lord Grenville in 1801, because the King refused to sanction a measure his confidential advisers had pronounced necessary to the prosperity of the State. In April, 1804, he joined the party his distinguished colleague had organised to oppose a notoriously incapable government, with apparently a perfect understanding that the eminent men who belonged to it, including Mr. Fox, were to be associated with him, should he supersede the unpopular Minister. In the following month of the same year, he resumed the post he had surrendered, notwithstanding that the King's sentiments on the measure he had pronounced essential, remained unchanged, and formed a ministry of the very men he had been attacking for their incompetence, from the commencement of the Session, to the exclusion of those able statesmen whose support had enabled him to drive Mr. Addington out of office.

This inconsistency cannot be justified; indeed, it suggests the idea that he was not particularly solicitous for the combination of talent that Lord Grenville considered was demanded by the position of the country. Whether, as we have seen insinuated, he considered that his own genius for government would appear to better advantage surrounded by a circle of mediocrities, we will not venture to affirm; but it is certain that his readiness to place his most cherished opinions in the back-ground when office was opened to him, and to take advantage of the consistency of more disinterested politicians, to exclude them from any share in the government, will always afford grounds for

such a charge. Though Lord Grenville, by his unselfish policy on this occasion, lost for a time the honourable post in the public service for which he was so admirably qualified, he gained a position in the estimation of all honourable-minded men, of a higher and more enduring distinction. He became the recognized leader of a powerful opposition—though less formidable in numbers than in opinions; for the latter were invested with a nationality that, as it developed itself, must sooner or later have attracted the intelligence and patriotism of the country. As a natural consequence of holding this position, he identified himself with a political creed which was supposed to vary considerably from the faith he had possessed. We, however, doubt whether his sentiments underwent any change. The Whigs adopted him, rather than he surrendered himself to them. Moreover, they adopted him, not only as a member, but as a chief.

The qualifications of Lord Grenville for a leader are ably summed up by Lord Brougham. "A greater accession to the popular cause and the Whig party, it was impossible to imagine, unless Mr. Pitt himself had persevered in his desire of rejoining the standard under which his first and noblest battles were fought. All the qualities in which their long opposition and personal habits made them deficient, Lord Grenville possessed in an eminent degree. Long habits of business had matured his experience, and disciplined his naturally vigorous understanding; a life, studiously regular, had surrounded him with the respect of his countrymen, and of those whom the dazzling talents of others could not blind to their loose propensities and idle

habits; a firm attachment to the Church, as by law established, attracted towards him the confidence of those who subscribe to its doctrines, and approve its discipline; while his tried prudence and discretion were a balance much wanted against the opposite defects of the Whig party, and especially of their most celebrated leader."*

The radical defect of the Whigs had hitherto been a certain looseness of principle in their acknowledged leaders, which while it attracted towards them many persons with the same independence of moral restraints, repelled others, whose support was far more desirable. The countenance of the heir-apparent and his immediate friends, may have been regarded by the party as a source of strength; but while the entire coterie were chiefly distinguished by their studied neglect, or open violation of the proprieties of social intercourse, with reference to the respectability of the nation, such could only be a source of weakness. The exalted position of the Prince, the brilliant talents of Fox, the popular oratory of Sheridan, and the undoubted ability of several of their most prominent associates, failed to influence a large and influential class of the community, in consequence of their notorious deficiency in the more homely virtues. It was this that gave to the accession of a character so sterling in every respect as Lord Grenville, a value it is impossible to exaggerate. The opinions of the Whigs received a stamp of genuineness that gave them immediate circulation in quarters whence they had been carefully excluded.

The Prince of Wales shortly became sensible of the

* Statesmen of the Time of George III.

advantages he might derive from so important an acquisition to the political coterie with whom it was known that he was closely connected, and as will be shown in a subsequent letter, lost little time in causing overtures to be made to the Grenville family for a more intimate association; they were not, it is evident, very eagerly received.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO EARL TEMPLE.

Charles Street, July 17, 1804.

My dear Lord Temple,

I presume that the information of the "Morning Post" is correct, in stating that Mr. Grenville has declined to pursue the contest. Whatever be the issue of it, I am sure Mr. Grenville, and all of his name and family, would be very ungrateful if they did not acknowledge the indefatigable zeal and pains with which you have devoted yourself to a very troublesome and unpleasant business. To attack the enemy in their own fortifications, is always matter of hazard as to the event, and nobody can really be much surprised that so stout an undertaking should not turn out to have all the success which it deserved. I rejoice, however, most cordially in the warm interest with which you have taken up and maintained the cause of the family; and now that I am growing old and idle, I delight to see the laudable activity of younger limbs and spirits.

Ever most affectionately yours,

T. G.

P.S.—I hope and trust that my brother will not be vexed at the result of Aylesbury. The proportion of infusion of new blood has not been sufficient to counteract the old leaven.

We here introduce a pleasing variety, in the shape of an expression of that taste for literature for which the writer

was subsequently distinguished. Towards the end of the communication, however, old habits break out, and we fall again into the beaten track of political gossip.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nawarth Castle, Aug. 24, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

Upon my arrival here from the lakes, I found a letter from the Secretary in Eyre, to tell me that a Mr. Backhouse, who has purchased a considerable estate on Epping Forest, is a petitioner for a licence to sport there. Before I send an answer, I should be glad to know what your wishes may be, as I understand this gentleman claims acquaintance with the family, and therefore probably will turn out to be your Aylesbury neighbour. If it is to be given, perhaps, it would be desirable that you should make a favour of giving it to him, and write him word so. If he is an enemy, there is no necessity for noticing it farther. I, therefore, wait for a line from you directed to Charles Street, to know what to do with Mr. Backhouse.

I have been quite delighted with the lakes; so much so, that I shall take another peep at them next week, in my way to Wynnstay. The old castle that I am now writing from, is curious for its antiquity, and for its retaining, in great part, its original apartments and disposition. In its size I am rather disappointed, as it does not come up to the idea that I had formed of the military mansion of the Dacres of the North; but it possesses so much that is curious and original, in old arms upon its battlements, and in the general arrangement of the castle, that though it is smaller than I expected, and debarred from any external windows to the country, I have passed a few days here very much to my satisfaction. You will suppose that I have not neglected the three or four hundred books called the Library of Lord William Howard; and although Lord Carlisle told me they had been

examined, and produced nothing curious, yet I found several curious articles of early printing, which, though damaged, I have persuaded him to take to town to be saved, before they are irrecoverably decayed. Amongst them is Jacobi Magni Sophologium, 1478, by Crantz, Gering, and Friburger; the Orcharde of Syon, 1519, by Wynkin de Worde, and Hymns by ditto; Barclay's Sallust in English, by Pynson; Ranulph's Chronicon, by Caxton; the Homilies of St. Gregory, in Latin, by Peregrinus de Pasquelitus, 1493; Speculum Exemplorum, by Richard Paefrod, civem Daventriensem, 1481.

Thomas Aquinas, by Claude Chevallon; Berners' Froissart; Shakespeare, 1st edition; Barclay's Ship of Fooles; a vellum manuscript of Hardyng's Chronicle; another of the Life of St. Cuthbert, in English verse; these and the other rarcties of the Castle I leave to-morrow. I hear no politics; but I judge that the alarm of invasion is to a great degree fictitious, because I met the Secretary at War at Trentham, who told me he knew of no new ground of alarm, and he was going for two months into Scotland; I saw likewise Lord Granville, and was too discreet to ask him respecting his mission, but my own belief is, that the ministers are looking much more anxiously after the means of peace than of war, and I suspect the new mission to Petersburgh to be conceived in that view of things. I know no particulars respecting the Prince, except the having heard yesterday, that he has very recently said, that he believed he should very shortly see the King. The Duke of Montrose's expectation of parliament not meeting before Christmas, is the language of all the friends of government.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Aug. 25, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

Can anything equal the ridicule of Pitt riding about from Downing Street to Wimbledon, and from Wimbledon to Coxheath,

to inspect military carriages, impregnable batteries, and Lord Chatham's reviews? Can he possibly be serious in expecting Bonaparte now? Fifty more such questions one might ask, if any part of his conduct admitted of any discussion on the ordinary principles of reason and common sense.

You will have seen in the papers the account of the interview at Kew, between the King and Prince; perhaps you have heard of it in some other shape. Yesterday's post brought me a letter from Sheridan, to say that the Prince had directed him to call at Dropmore, to mention some circumstances of which His Royal Highness wished I should immediately be informed. But then Sheridan heard I was in Cornwall so he did not come, and then he heard I was to return immediately; so he writes to say that the Prince is to be two days in town and will see me; or, he Sheridan, will be at my orders whenever it is convenient. So I wrote back to assure him that I am to stay here a month longer, always ready to obey His Royal Highness's commands when he thinks I can be of use, and proud to receive his communication when I return. And here I suppose this will drop.

We have delightful weather here. The house and place are in better order than you could have supposed possible, and a small expense will, I trust, put it in a state to enable us to pass a couple of months here most autumns, as long as it shall please God to continue us our health.

Dissolution by Pitt is, I am confident, quite out of the question. The King goes to Weymouth, which seems to announce as much recovery as any one can ever expect to see. And parliament will, therefore, probably meet in *statu quo* in November, to compliment Pitt on the vigour, activity, and success of his campaign.

P.S. Nothing but yeomanry will bring me back; but I have fixed that for the begining of October, and for that I must return.

By the bye, I have not received your official answer on that subject, which the new act renders necessary.

The state of Jamaica, at this period, will be found detailed in the following communication from its military governor. The frightful mortality that had visited the French force in the neighbouring island of St Domingo, had rendered easy a more extensive rising of the blacks, whose operations against them shortly became equally destructive. M. Thiers, apparently not liking the story of these disasters, abruptly ends his narrative with a laboured parallel, referring to Toussaint l'Ouverture dying of cold in France, and the French soldiers expiring of heat in St. Domingo.

GENERAL NUGENT TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Jamaica, Aug. 28, 1804.

My dear Lord Buckingham,

I return you my best thanks for the trouble which you have taken, in speaking to Lord Camden and Mr. Cooke, on the subject of my situation in Jamaica. I stated long ago to Lord Hobart, that as in remaining here, I had only the good of the public service at heart, I was willing to resign immediately, if he thought that the appointment of a successor would be advantageous to the views of government.

I never had any conversation with the Duke of Portland, relative to the lieutenant-governorship; nor did I presume to make any stipulation with the Minister, when I received my commission. On the contrary, I applied for the office through Lord Melville, who had previously made me the offer of the command of the troops in Jamaica, under Lord Carysfort's government. Lord Cornwallis at that time declined that situation for me; and I

then understood that Lord Carysfort also had refused to accept the appointment offered to him. Upon General Knox's loss, and the change of ministry, happening to be in London, and finding that Lord Cornwallis was leaving Ireland, I made the application in question, merely to succeed to the precise situation entrusted to my friend General Knox, and which I have good reason to think I should have held on Lord Carysfort's resignation, had I not originally declined the command of the troops on this establishment.

I detail these circumstances to prevent any misapprehension; although I am not aware of the part which you may have been so good as to take on the occasion, in opposition to the appointment of a governor during my command here.

The late shocking occurrences in St. Domingo, and the disposition manifested by Dessalines towards us, in my mind render it impossible to enter into any new engagement with that country.

As to the other point, the contribution of this island for the payment of a part of their military establishment, and the placing of the barrack department in the hands of the commander-in-chief for the time being, I think that government has a right to insist upon the compliance of the Assembly with so just a demand.

It is uncertain, however, at this moment, what the temper of the members may be at the next October meeting, as it now appears almost impracticable to comply with their unanimous wish to send away the black troops, 5000 white troops being too great a number for the mother country to maintain complete here; and that number of men being absolutely required for the defence of so large an island in so dangerous a situation.

My private opinion is, that it would be most politic at present to be satisfied with the management of the barrack department; or, if government could determine to remove the black corps for ever from Jamaica, to stipulate with the Assembly for a specific

sum for a certain number of years, for the maintenance of that part of the military establishment of Jamaica, which the island ought in justice to support. Pay, rations of provisions, barracks, and every other contingency for 3000 men, would, I think, be their proportion, under the present circumstances of the proprietors. The annual expense would, probably, amount to £300,000 currency, or £214,000 sterling, upon an average of peace and war; but, at the expiration of the term of years agreed upon, a fresh arrangement might take place, consistent with the state of the island at that period.

If the Board of Works is not abolished here, it will be impossible for the general officer commanding the troops to do his duty; as, at present, a nail cannot be driven without the consent of that Board; and the members are so extremely capricious, that a year often elapses before a necessary repair is undertaken. Sir A. Williamson passed the Bill establishing the Board of Works, thereby giving up for himself, and his successors, a very important prerogative. The Bill, however, is annual; and if at any time the Assembly should decline to vote money for the barracks, it ought to be refused by the governor.

To return to St. Domingo. The black population has so decreased since the first revolution, that I cannot consider Jamaica insecure from their near neighbourhood, although to windward. We have only to prevent them from navigating, by permitting the Americans to supply them with their wants, and to endeavour to find them sufficient employment at home. With this view, the city of Santo Domingo, where there is rather a strong French garrison still, has not been closely blockaded by our ships-of-war, which will create a great diversion of Dessalines' force, without any prospect of success. Late accounts also state, that the mulattoes are about to share the fate of the white inhabitants, and that there is every probability of the same division between the Creole and African negroes (the latter with Dessalines, and the former with Christophe, at their heads) for

the supremacy, whenever the people of colour have been exterminated. The latter are insignificant in number, and can make no resistance; but the two former classes, are, I believe, sufficiently upon a par, to be formidable enemies to each other.

I am most particularly obliged to you for hinting to Lord Camden, my inclination to return to England at no very remote period, as I ardently wish to resign this government after another Session of the Assembly; provided I could do so advantageously to myself, without embarrasing the public service. A red ribbon would perfectly satisfy me, and I claim this mark of distinction with great confidence, when I look to those who have obtained it, my inferiors in rank, and I may add in professional services.

If you can negotiate that object for me with the Minister, I shall be at the summit of my ambition, but I am resolved not to give up my claim to some reward for past service in Ireland and this country, by a premature resignation of this command, unless government may think proper to signify to me their wish, to replace me by some other person more likely to succeed in their views in Jamaica.

Believe me, my dearest Lord Buckingham,
Your ever grateful, and affectionate servant,
G. NUGENT.

The unhappy disorganization of the royal family was a source of deep disquietude to the King, and a cause of sincere anxiety to many of his subjects. Not only were the relative positions of the King and the heir-apparent the reverse of desirable, but the settled antagonism of the latter and the Princess of Wales seemed likely to produce the most painful embarrassments. The necessity of providing appropriately for the educational requirements of their only child, the Princess Charlotte, aggravated the

perplexities of the King, who could not conscientiously sanction the ordinary course of leaving such a duty to her father. The following communications convey much information respecting these scandals, which form important items in the Court gossip of the time. There is no doubt that the King acted throughout such trials with the best motives; nor is it less clear that they exercised a mischievous influence over his mind.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Aug. 30, 1804.

My Lord,

I have heard once from Weymouth—the journey went off better than was expected, but I believe the difficulties continue just the same. I agree in much of your suggestions respecting the negotiations which took place for the reconciliation, but since I wrote to you last I have heard much more of the conduct of the Prince, which appears to have changed during the progress of it. You are quite right that there was not sufficient previous discussion upon the points claimed by the Prince, but certainly enough to convince him they would not be granted, and that in time to have prevented the expedition to Kew. I was most positively assured by a personage present at the dinner at Bushey, when the invitation was received by the Prince, that Sheridan who was of the party, pressed him strongly to attend the proposed meeting; and indeed at this moment, I cannot see why he should not have come under any circumstances. I am perfectly satisfied the great cause of indignation arose from the previous interview with the Princess.* I have heard since, but not from

* Princess of Wales.

authority, (but I believe it,) that at the meeting, the King granted her the rangership and demesne of Greenwich; all this attention to her, feeds the flame beyond any other thing. The house is doing up with great dispatch and comfort for the Princess Charlotte, at Windsor, to be ready upon the Royal Family's return; the Prince will certainly not allow her to come. What I alluded to in my last respecting the old lady, was a resistance on her part to resume those habits of life, which existed between her and her husband before his illness, when he left his place; he had not returned to those apartments he occupied before his illness, and it was a subject of most serious anxiety on his part, and of equal resistance on hers. I think a great deal depends on the event of it—infinitely more than may be imagined; and you may be assured it is considered as of most serious importance to him.

W. H. Fremantle.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Sept. 2, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

I enclose you a letter from Fox, which I will beg you to return to me. It explains in general what has passed between the King and the Prince of Wales, and the way in which the thing has been broken off. Before this I knew nothing but from newspapers; these, however, left no doubt that the failure of the intended interview, arose from some other reason than that of the alleged illness of the Prince. Of what is passing at Weymouth, I also know only what the 'Sun' thinks proper to tell; but, surely, this is more than enough.

We shall remain here the greatest part of this month; and I much regret that I had so arranged the Yeomanry, as to tie myself to be back by the beginning of October. I begin to be, like the rest of my brother volunteers, very impatient of that thankless, troublesome, and, I fear, useless slavery. Probably,

by next summer, I shall be relieved of my command, by having by that time nobody left for me to command.

Let me know how you are, and what you are doing; and contrive, if you can, to include me in your new arrangements as an elderly gentleman passed the age of service; and from the 25th of next month included, in the last class of invalids and old men, to be called out only in the last necessity.

In the meantime, do not forget to obtain for me Lord Hawkesbury's gracious permission to exhibit myself once more as a lieutenant-colonel of dragoons assembled for exercise.

I had not much faith in Bonaparte's coming; and it appears that the Secretary-at-War is of my opinion, since I learn that he has been passing his autumn in Scotland, and is to continue there till some time next month. If, however, we were to believe the papers, the expedition has sailed before now; and, perhaps, by this time, Lord Chatham and Pitt are displaying their rival talents in the command of the Kentish army and volunteers.

Ever most affectionately,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wynnstay, Sept. 11, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

Since I wrote to you from hence, I have heard from Cornwall, that a communication had been in part made to him by letter, of what had passed recently respecting the long-talked of interview. In that short account, no mention is made of the military ground which you had described as the decisive obstacle; but, nevertheless, I am inclined to think that your history is the true one, as it is probable that such and other details are reserved for verbal communication, the month of October being already named for some intercourse to take place between the two hills north and south of Windsor. I take for granted, however, that

whatever I have heard from Cornwall, has been likewise repeated to you; and, therefore, the reason of my writing a few lines to you to-day, is chiefly to tell you that I have received a letter from very good authority, to tell me that latterly the manner and appearance of Pitt has been "absorbed, melancholy, and ailing," to the greatest degree; so much so, that the writer assures me Pitt's friends are made anxious by it to the greatest degree, not knowing whether to attribute it to his own health, to the accounts from Weymouth, or to the apprehension of some great political crisis, to which the rest of the world are strangers. My correspondent leans to the latter opinion; and has some, though no certain grounds, for imagining that this extreme depression arises from an overpowering sense of the present public difficulties, and from a consciousness that things cannot go on as they are. I tell you this as I hear it; but I do not pretend to decipher this mysterious intelligence. Is it the disappointment of all hopes from Austria, in the disgraceful step just taken by the Emperor?* is it a conviction of the necessity of peace, and of the insecurity of any treaty that can be made under the present circumstances? What it is, I know not, as it surprises me the more to hear of his sense of his own weakness, at a moment when, in my opinion, he is really stronger than he was three months ago.

I hear to-day, from unquestionable authority, that parliament is to meet in November with certainty, though the day is not yet finally decided upon.

The report, I hear, of want of stores at Plymouth, from one well able to judge, is worse than I could have believed; and, of course, the preparations there for an increased force, are in proportion to the limited and exhausted means which that dockyard affords.

* This may refer either to the recent recognition by the Emperor Francis of the new government in France, or his abandonment of the title of Emperor of Germany for that of Emperor of Austria.

Mr. Addington's plenipotentiary to Walmer now appears before the reader as an active colleague of Mr. Pitt, filling the office of First Lord of the Admiralty. The captain of the 'Ganges,' mentioned by him, has appeared more than once in these pages.

LORD MELVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Admiralty, Oct. 15, 1804.

My dear Lord,

I have this morning the honour of your Lordship's letter. The state of the navy, and the many demands upon it, renders it absolutely necessary not to lay aside from service any ship that can, with safety, be continued upon service. We don't bring ships of that description on further than Plymouth, because they are there more immediately ready for service, than when they are brought further up the Channel. Those that require so long a period of repair, as to put them out of service for a very considerable time, are brought to Portsmouth, or some other of the dockyards to the eastward. I flatter myself, upon the best inquiry I can make, that the 'Ganges' will not require to be brought to Portsmouth; but if she is to undergo any refitting whatever, it does not occur to me that there can be any objection to granting to Captain Fremantle the short indulgence your Lordship states; and I shall take it into my view, when I hear again either from your Lordship or himself, that he is come into the Channel.

I have had occasion to give a great deal of consideration to the subject of Megassey Bay; and I find it very difficult to get any such concurrence of opinion, on either side, as to entitle me to venture a decision upon it.

Of course, your Lordship will believe that I am anxious to get every additional information I can collect, and particularly so, from so well informed a person as Captain Talbot. I shall be

glad to see him, when he happens to be in this neighbourhood, and can see me without much inconvenience. The objection I have heard generally most insisted upon, is the foulness of the ground for anchorage; while, on the other hand, others contend that this is only applicable to an inconsiderable part of it.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient and very faithful servant,

MELVILLE.

The Grenvilles appear already to have been acknowledged as masters of the situation. Offers of co-operation came from many influential quarters; but the negotiation commenced by the Prince of Wales, is eminently suggestive. Equally characteristic is the royal reconciliation. The confidence of his Royal Highness seems to have been as complete as it was spontaneous, and the abortive advances of Mr. Pitt gave the Prince a claim upon the support of Lord Grenville, which was readily admitted. The new Minister was indefatigable in striving to strengthen his position. After failing in every quarter, he thought of his discarded "friend and successor," with whom he easily effected a reconciliation.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM

Nov. 8, 1804.

You will have seen my dearest brother, that your information was right as to the prorogation. Two out of the three powers with whom you hear that negotiations are carrying on, may, I conceive, already be considered certain allies, whether the treaties be signed or not. Mr. Erskine I hear has lately made at St. Anne's a fresh and full profession of adherence and attachment.

I hear nothing from Windsor, but the accounts of the last fortnight at Weymouth, were much more certainly favourable than those that had preceded them.

I suppose the objects of the embarkation, are 1st, Madeira, and then the Cape. Without the former we cannot do at all in war, and without the latter very ill.

Did you recollect to look among your correspondence with those great luminaries Yorke and Lord Hawkesbury, and see whether they had presented how much the expense of a room shall amount to, let it be where it will, and what one sum shall be paid in all parts of the kingdom for the labour of keeping arms clean, and store clothing aired and beat.

If they have not found out the means of solving this problem, I should thank you for your opinion on a much easier question, viz.

What this said rent and pay should reasonably be, in this our good county of Buckingham, and *nommément* in the good towns of Burnham, Amersham, Wycombe, and Marlow.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 13th Nov., 1804.

My dearest Brother,

As soon as Fox had quitted the Prince, he and Sheridan called upon me. The first object of their conversation was, to say that the Prince had directed them to make to me (for the information of yourself and Lord Grenville,) the following communication, viz., "that an interview had taken place that morning at Kew between the King and himself, but without any political reference whatever," and further he directed us to be informed that, in a conversation which took place between Lord Moira and Mr. Pitt, upon some inquiries made by the latter as to the possibility of the Prince's friends co-operating with Ministers, that Lord Moira had answered, "that after the communication which the Prince had last Session

with those whom he had thought fit to consult with, he Lord Moira, would never advise the Prince to try to influence the conduct of his friends, without the communication and concurrence of those same persons whom he had called to his councils last Session," and the Prince desired we should all be informed that he entirely approved of, and assented to that answer given to Mr. Pitt by Lord Moira.

This was, as well as I recollect, the purport, if not the exact shape of words, of what the Prince had commissioned them to say to us. What I have further learnt in conversation is, that Tierney is certainly using his utmost efforts to engage the Prince in the avowed support of the present ministers, who, on their part, are doing all they can to invite it by the most unbounded professions of their intention (in that case) to give him all the authority, influence, and pre-eminence, which he can look for. You know, however, that from various circumstances, his mind rests entirely upon military rank and command, and it is not easy to conceive, however eager Ministers may be to obtain it, that the King will ever concede a single tittle upon that subject.

The interview is described to me as having been very cold and discouraging; not a word in allusion to the past separation or the present interview, nor any remark on either side beyond the common and ordinary conversation of the day. The King appeared much fallen away to the Prince; but Sheridan, who saw the King at Lymington, at a sort of *levée* held there, says that the King's conversation was remarkably cool and collected; and I find from one or two persons likely to know, that there is a general opinion among those who have attended the King, that the last fortnight did him evident good, and produced a change for the better, beyond what could have been believed; if this is correct, and I have no reason to doubt it, what I had heard of the 4th and 5th, must have been either mis-stated, or strangely exaggerated. The Prince is to go down

to make a short visit at Windsor on Friday, and Lord Moira returns to Scotland in two or three days. This negotiation may therefore be considered as concluded, and, if it be so, I confess, I do not see what real advantage the Ministers, who have been so zealous in it, are likely to derive from it. What Lord Kilwarden's Irish intelligence is I have not the same opportunity that you probably have had of knowing, but I think it evident that the Irish question must come on very early in the Session, and upon that point Fox thinks as I do, that the same distinction of parties will be found which was left in the last Session; if I mistake not too, Fox told me that the Prince had as late as yesterday expressed a wish that there might be an early discussion of this question, and that he (the Prince) should certainly himself vote for that question.

This is the general result of what I heard from Fox and Sheridan last night, and Fox returned this morning early to Woburn. I understand the parliament will not meet till the 17th. I must write a copy of this letter to Lord Grenville, and therefore cannot prolong this account, which, however, is the essence of all I know.

P.S. Addington is more bitter than ever against the present Ministers. Tierney says they offer him Ireland, but he believes he shall not accept. Sheridan is at open war with him upon his avowing that he wishes the Prince to join the Ministers.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Nov. 16, 1804.

Being just returned from two days at Wimbledon, I find by Wyndham, that the Prince sent for him yesterday, and gave him pretty much the same account that I had sent to you of what had passed; but he farther added that Mr. Pitt had sent for Lord Moira early on Tuesday, to tell him that the King wished

to see Lord Moira on Thursday (yesterday) at Windsor; that Lord Moira had expressed to the Prince some anxiety as to what he (Lord Moira) should say if the King should urge him upon general union, a subject which Mr. Pitt had told Lord Moira he (Mr. Pitt) very much wished and desired; and that the Prince had advised Lord Moira, in that case, to enter into no details, but to refer the King to Mr. Pitt as having been informed of his (Lord Moira's) sentiments on this subject.

This, as you see, is again a renewal, though I still think it will come to nothing; yet I am glad that Wyndham wrote an account of this to Fox last night, because this interview between Mr. Pitt and Lord Moira was after Fox had returned to Woburn, in the persuasion that all was over.

Lord Moira was to return to town from the King last night, but no communication has since been made to any of us, and I do not find that anybody yet knows what passed at Windsor. The Prince is gone down there to-day with the Duke of Clarence.

It looks to me as if it was intended to give to Ministers the grace of desiring and seeking for general union, without any real danger to them of that general union taking place.

MR. W. H. FREMANTLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Englefield Green, Nov. 19, 1804.

My Lord,

I deferred writing to you on the subject of the reconciliation till I had witnessed the meeting, which I did the two nights the Prince was at Windsor, Friday and Saturday last. The scene was interesting, the whole of the royal family present, and the conduct of the King such as if nothing had occurred. He seemed infinitely better, and less irritated, during the three days it lasted, than I had seen him before. The royal party con-

sisted of the King, Queen, Prince of Wales, Duke and Duchess of York, Lady Ilchester, and General Fitzroy; the other princes and princesses at different tables in the same room. I was very near the King's table, and nothing could be better acted than his manner. I can't say the same of the Prince. He was evidently very much out of spirits and in ill humour—hardly spoke a word to anybody, and looked very ill. If I was to give an opinion, from what I have seen and heard, it is quite impossible this reconciliation can last. It is professed to be independent of politics, therefore, whenever parliament meets, every act of the Prince will be a new offence. Whatever may have been his immediate object, I am satisfied he has not acquired it; and I don't think Lord Moira will go to Ireland. I think, instead of Tierney, another person will go, which will lead to a reconciliation with Addington; but the arrangements, in my opinion, now hang suspended between the acquisition of the Prince's party and Addington. The first you probably know more of than I do, but the least knowledge proves its difficulty, and, at any rate, its uncertainty. The latter would be less difficult, and more firm and established.

The King and royal family go to the play on Wednesday; the former goes afterwards to Kew to sleep, and the Queen, &c., stay in town Thursday. I don't hear a word of news.

The King hunts as much as ever, and rides forty and fifty miles without its appearing to hurt him. It seems a great risk, and more than he ought to do; and I fear that any cold caught from wet, or checked perspiration, might give him a serious illness.

Ever, with great respect and attachment,

Very affectionately yours,

W. H. Fremantle.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Nov. 21, 1804.

DEAREST BROTHER,

I returned to town this morning, after an excursion of two or three days, and found a note from Sheridan, dated *last night*, and saying, "That he has great satisfaction in informing me that all the negotiations proposed to or proceeding from Carlton House, closed *that morning*, by the Prince's adopting the only line of conduct which any one who really regards his interests or his honour could wish to see him adopt; and that this was formally communicated to Mr. Pitt by Lord Moira." Sheridan adds, that he will tell me the particulars when he sees me in town. This matter, therefore, for the present, appears to be brought to a conclusion, and seems to have furnished a strong indication of Pitt's thinking some additional strength necessary, though he appears to have failed in acquiring it in this particular mode.

As I am just arrived, I have only time to write off this note of Sheridan's to you and to Dropmore; and, in truth, if I had more time, I have not more news.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Nov. 26, 1804.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

It was not till yesterday that I saw Sheridan. I find from him that the present state of things promises little, if any, good effect from the interviews which have been with so much difficulty brought about. The King's present thoughts are bent upon taking the Princess Charlotte under his separate care; and the consequence will probably be a renewed breach between the King and Prince, and certainly will destroy all hopes of cordial reconciliation. It now appears that in the first negotiation in

the summer, Lord Moira had persuaded the Prince to agree that in case of a cordial reconciliation between the King and Prince, the Prince would meet the King half way in discussing such an arrangement between themselves for the Princess Charlotte as should place her exclusively under their joint care; or—in the words of Lord Moira—that the King should hold her by one hand, and the Prince by the other. But two conditions were annexed to this—one, that the Prince should not be required to give up his political connexions; and the other, that the Princess of Wales should not be tampered with in the business of the Princess Charlotte. This explanation was given by Lord Moira to the Chancellor and to Mr. Pitt, and was approved by them; but the then-proposed interview failed as you know; and I now hear that the private interview between the King and Princess of Wales in August, contributed much to prevent the interview taking place. When it did take place recently at Kew, the Prince expected to hear of this subject from the King; but not a word was said to the Prince either then, or during the three days residence at Windsor, or in the audience given by the King to Lord Moira at Windsor. Two days, however, after the Prince's return from Windsor, he hears that the King has gone across the country to Blackheath, and, for the first time, has dined, and spent several hours there; and, on the following day, the Prince receives, by the hands of the Chancellor, a paper from the King, which begins by stating, "that the Prince having expressed a wish to put the Princess Charlotte under the special protection of the King, for the care of her person and her education, his Majesty proposes to name a new establishment for her, a new governess, a bishop, and a sub-governor to read prayers to her, to teach her Latin, &c.; and that his Majesty will take her civil list allowance into his own hands, and will defray any further expense that may arise," &c., &c., &c. The Prince is indignant to the greatest degree; but yesterday wrote to the Chancellor, and returned the paper, insisting that he had

expressed no such wish as was there quoted, referring to Lord Moira for the truth of this denial, and claiming of the Chancellor and of Mr. Pitt to explain distinctly to the King what Lord Moira had said to them on this subject from the Prince, &c., &c., &c. Sheridan likewise told me that Lord Moira, before he went to Scotland, had told Mr. Pitt, by the Prince's orders, that the Prince had no longer any desire for military rank or command, and, therefore, wished Mr. Pitt to be apprised of this. He likewise, two days ago, spoke to Tierney; told him that he wished him well, but that their opinions differed so much upon political subjects and characters, that he desired Tierney to act without any reference to him (the Prince,) and distinctly to take the place now offered to him, if he thought it for his own personal advantage to do so.

You see, therefore, that this attempt at a partial division of those who acted together, will produce nothing but scenes of public distress, where one most wishes they should not be found. Gibbs has an offer of a seat, as I believe, in Cornwall from Ministers. He is to see the Prince about it; and the Prince means to tell him that if he comes in to support Ministers, he cannot continue in his service.

The King's going away to Kew; and leaving the Queen to her own party alone at Buckingham House,* causes much speculation.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Camelford House, Nov. 30, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

You will have heard, I imagine, from Tom, how the Prince of Wales, hearing that I was to be in town yesterday and to-day, for the election at the Charter House, sent to him to say that we must dine with him yesterday, which we did, and met only Lord Spencer, Wyndham, and Sheridan.

* The Queen's Palace.

He communicated to us, in long detail, the particulars of Lord Moira's negotiations, of his own visit to Kew and Windsor, of his observations there, confirmed by the report of others of the family, and of the present state of the discussions relative to Princess Charlotte.

The whole would be much too long for a letter, especially as all that is material is, I believe, already known to you; but he laid his principal stress on the following points—viz., that Lord Moira had been pressed to accept a cabinet place, which he had refused, on the ground that the Prince would not separate himself from those whom he had advised with at the end of last session; that it had, therefore, been understood that the reconciliation was to have no political reference whatever; that he had found things at Windsor as bad as they had been represented—no cordiality (hardly common civility) towards himself; a power of restraining himself and talking rationally for some time, and on some points, but no day passing without much of a different description, and many points very prevalent in his mind of a character extremely irrational; not a word said to him during three days' stay at Windsor of the arrangements making respecting his daughter, and on his return to town a message sent to him through the Chancellor, referring to and misrepresenting what had before passed on the subject between Lord Moira and Mr. Pitt, which the King construes into a wish expressed by the Prince that his Majesty should take upon himself the entire direction of her education. This wish has been positively denied by the Prince, and thereupon they are at issue, the Prince having referred to Lord Moira, who is in Scotland, for the truth of his statement, and declaring that nothing shall induce him to put his child out of his own control, particularly under circumstances so little auspicious as those which result from the King's present state of mind. He desired you might know all this. How it is to end, I do not even guess.

Spanish war I believe certain.

The position of Mr. Pitt, though he commanded a majority in the House of Commons, was far from secure; and his sense of this had no doubt led him to attempt to strengthen it by detaching the Prince of Wales from the Opposition. Not only did he strive earnestly to effect a reconciliation between the Prince and the King, as the preceding pages have shown, but it appears that he held out inducements to his Royal Highness with reference to a regency, and proposals equally gratifying to his principal adviser, that were well calculated to influence both. The reader will presently see what these fair promises came to.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 5, 1804.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

The discussions yet in question remain suspended; and I have no doubt that you are correct in supposing that the present silence arises from the appeal which Ministers may have made to Edinburgh upon the subject. Yet there appears under the hand of the person appealed to,* an account given by him to his principal† of all that had passed, which proves that Ministers must, in that quarter, be disappointed in any expectations which they may have formed from thence. I take for granted, indeed, their embarrassment must be extreme, because I think they must feel the ground, which they are invited to tread upon, as hazardous in the extreme; while, on the other hand, what one hears of the impracticability of temper, and of the obstinate perseverance with which every fancy of the moment is pursued, makes it almost hopeless for them to try to put by the storm which is arising. How they will weather it, I cannot foresee. George

* Lord Moira. † Prince of Wales.

Berkeley tells me you are anxious for his accepting this domestic proposition; it is less inviting, less distinguished, and less, in every sense of the word, than what was talked of; and, therefore, I should have thought less desirable. But what most strikes me in the change, is the alarm I feel in finding the state of things such as not to afford the most material defence against the most pressing danger. I hope Bonaparte will have his hands full upon the continent, though I scarce know how to believe it.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 8, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

The line I write to-night, is merely in acknowledgment of yours of yesterday, for of the business in question, I have not heard a word that is new. Lord Moira's house was still in darkness this morning, though I find Sir R. Kerr, his aide-de-camp, came up the day before yesterday. I conclude that the Prince has heard from him; but I know nothing recently from that quarter, except that he sent up for the Princess Charlotte two days ago to Carlton House, but she returned with Lady Elgin to Blackheath. The papers will have already answered your question, by telling you that the King went to Kew from Buckingham House, where the Queen remained, and had a party.

Lord Melville told Lord Ossory yesterday, that the Spaniards at first had evidently meant to avoid war, till they were forced to it by the French ambassador. He did not positively know yesterday that Frere had left Madrid; but he was inclined to think he had, and was still at Lisbon holding some communication with Spanish ministers. The expedition that you ask about, seems rather too large for Madeira; and if it is not that, neither William nor I know how to help your guess. But how can any

large expedition take place without ships of the line; and if they have not enough for the more pressing demand of Irish service, how are they to supply them for foreign expeditions?

I hear nobody named to succeed Lord Harrowby; nor do I know why his friends and family say he will be well in a week, when Home, who attends him, told me it was a bad concussion, and that they should not think him safe from the danger of inflammation in the brain under fifteen days, nor could they look at all to the prospect of his resuming office.

On the 5th and 11th of December, Mr. W. H. Fremantle writes to the Marquis of Buckingham:—

Dec. 5.

Nothing can be worse than the situation of affairs in this quarter at present. The subject of the Princess Charlotte of Wales is drawing to a crisis. The Prince had originally agreed to her education being conducted under the care and protection of the King. He has now completely flown from his engagement, and refuses to allow her to come here, or to be subject to any other control or advice than what he may himself dictate. You may imagine how this step distresses and agitates the whole family, who naturally dread what may be the consequences of it. I must say, knowing as I do, the whole of the circumstances, and which I cannot commit to paper, the Prince's conduct is most flagrant and in my opinion ill-advised. He undoubtedly not only by word of mouth, and under his hand and by commission engaged himself over and over to allow the King to undertake the education of the child, and now, upon the proposals (of the system intended) being laid before him, he not only rejects them, but denies his engagement. Lord Moira is sent for by the King—this you may rely upon. I know that some of the King's supposed best friends, condemn him strongly. I wish the business may not in the end seriously

affect the King, who is hurt beyond description at it, but does not mean again to quarrel with the Prince; at present he is more calm upon the subject than I should have expected, and talks extremely rationally upon it. The family are gone for two days to London.

The King, &c., dined here on Monday last, just after this refusal was made known to him. The Duke of York met him.

Dec. 11th.

Your suggestions are very just, and undoubtedly every hour will increase, and does increase the difficulties of the government; and this unfortunate business of the child must add considerably to their perplexities. You mistook me if you thought I conceived the demand would not be persisted in. I am thoroughly persuaded it will, and equally persuaded of its being resisted, but there must be great difficulties indeed in the conduct of Lord Moira, and to me it appears impossible any narrative that he can prepare, can possibly explain away the message he delivered from the Prince last summer to the Lord Chancellor, and which the Prince now denies; one or the other must state an untruth. The King certainly bears the disappointment with much more calmness than I expected, and it is now become a business in the hands of Mr. Pitt and the Chancellor. It is understood (from positive information which he [the King] has received) that Lord Grenville was consulted in the answer which the Prince sent to the paper delivered to him by the Chancellor: if it is untrue that he lent his advice to it, great injustice is done him, but the authority from whence it comes is very good.

I still think the government will be strenghtened, when parliament meets, by Addington's party; depend upon it, he is wavering, and in my opinion will take his decision before the meeting.

The more I see and learn upon public affairs at the present moment, the more alarming they appear to me. I am no croaker, but I cannot but feel alarm when I reflect upon the very tender thread everything hangs upon in this quarter, and the fatal and most treacherous rope that we are to cling to, when this gives way. I am every night at Windsor, and now that Lord St. Helens is gone, I supply his place at whist. There is no alteration in the King's health since his return from Weymouth; the hunting certainly don't disagree with him, but the amusement of building does not diminish.

A Chapter of the Garter is to be held at Windsor immediately after the birthday, when Lord Chesterfield* will get it, but with four others—not Lord Wellesley. I can hardly think Mr. Pitt has named all he intended.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 12th Dec., 1804.

My dearest Brother,

You will, doubtless, have heard that the present conversation of London turns entirely upon the supposed negotiation for the renewal of that reconciliation which had failed in the summer. When I came to town, I found the suspicion was that the ex-Treasurer of the Navy was at the bottom of this, and meant to make this reconciliation pave his road to Dublin, and I still believe he is at the bottom of what is now stirring upon this subject. In point of fact, however, Lord Moira went to Brighton on Thursday, and an express from the Chancellor to the Prince arrived soon after, inviting from the King a renewal of that intercourse which, in the summer, had been suspended upon the plea of indisposition. Lord Moira returned to town on Friday with the Prince, and, by Pitt's desire, went to Downing Street. I do not accurately know the conversation that passed

* Philip Stanhope, fifth earl. He died 29th Aug., 1815.

there, but I am assured, in great confidence, that Lord Moira was sounded upon the general idea of Regency, with the profession of its being the wish that the Prince should be placed at the head of any such arrangement. I presume this was said rather incidentally than directly, and yet I am assured the topic was discussed. Upon the same authority, I learn that Lord Moira then distinctly repeated that nothing should induce him to sit in a Cabinet from which Fox was excluded. Perhaps, if I gave credit to all I hear, I should imagine there might be some foundation for believing that on the 4th and 5th, it seemed not improbable that some such conversation as what I allude to should be of necessity to be had; but for this I have no certain data, beyond the suggestions and whispers of other people. In the meantime, the Prince has thought it necessary to send to Woburn for Mr. Fox, and he has this moment arrived. I was just now speaking to him, when I was interrupted by the person who sent for him, who, seeing me, told me that Fox should tell me everything for my knowledge, and that of my brothers. Whatever I hear, of course, I will send you word of. I have not time to add any conjectures. I find Sheridan is very hostile to Tierney in all this negotiation; nevertheless, it is probable that it may enough succeed to punish Tierney; the pretext that he is looking for, but as far as I can trace it, I do not yet see any reason to believe that any further impression will be made. The most curious circumstance is, that Pitt's objects, and part of his conversation lead one naturally to imagine all cannot be right.

Finding that the heir-apparent was not inclined to join him, Mr. Pitt looked about him for other support. It seems singular that, after having been denied the co-operation of the ablest politician in the kingdom, he should look for assistance from one whom he had recently classed with the weakest. Lord Grenville's refusal of office, however,

made an opening for the man whom everybody had abused, and no one more heartily than Mr. Pitt. But Mr. Addington was possessed of influence, though completely overlooked by the various leaders of party—so insignificant did he appear to them out of office. He enjoyed the King's favour to a greater extent than any Minister had done; and his successor now felt satisfied that this was a qualification he could not afford to overlook. The reader will not fail to observe that, as Mr. Pitt's hopes of securing the support of the King's son began to fade, he applied himself to the task of endeavouring to draw towards him the King's friend. Such an acquisition he ought to have known could only strengthen him in the closet, and, it was not unlikely, might produce there a totally contrary effect. With Mr. Addington were to come in the various members of the family who had been provided for in the former administration. But Mr. W. H. Fremantle's lively pen shall record these curious changes.

Exchequer, Wednesday.

I left Englefield Green yesterday for a few days, and have not been able to inform myself as yet of the decided intention respecting the proposed situation of Addington. I still think it is a great object to make an arrangement by means of the Presidentship of the Council; but it is no easy matter to satisfy the present holder of that employment.

You may easily imagine the joy which this union with the Doctor has created in this quarter. It is considered as firmly fixing the government, and enabling it to meet the parliament without fear or difficulty. In the first case, it certainly will; but I think it will ultimately lead to jealousy in Mr. Pitt towards the Doctor, who certainly is more beloved, and will have more the ear of the King.

With respect to Tierney, I don't know how they will arrange with him; but he certainly has no great claim from Addington, having been all the summer playing a separate game, and making separate overtures to the government for himself. The channel through which he did it, I believe, was the Duke of Cumberland.

What I told you in my last, took place. A partial offer was made from the Prince to the King respecting the child, which was, of course, rejected; and another letter is gone from the latter to the former, the answer to which waits the return of Lord Moira. Upon this transaction, I have no doubt myself that it never can be amicably adjusted. Neither party will give way; and I think both will be anxious to avoid a public discussion upon the right; and therefore the Prince is now making restricted offers, and other arrangements, in order to make his grounds more popular in case it necessarily becomes a public legal discussion. I was at a grand entertainment at Frogmore last night, when all the sons were present, but the Prince of Wales. The King is now full of the Blues regiment; takes great amusement in seeing them, and attends to their utmost minutiæ of parade, &c. The Stafford lose ground by it. An expedition is preparing for Portugal. The cavalry that are to go—at least, what I have been told from those who ought to know—are the 9th, 13th, and 18th.

Ever with great respect and attachment,

W. H. F.

Since I wrote to you last, I think appearances are better—much more composure, and less irritation. The conduct of Lord Moira, from what I learn, has been upright. He says, if the Prince persists in denying the message he delivered to the Chancellor in the summer, he must either renounce him or his honour.

He has been very urgent before his return to have an audience

of the King, which will not be granted, unless the determination is altered. It is of very little consequence, however, how all these communications proceed, as I am perfectly satisfied the Prince will not eventually fully surrender his child to the care of the King; and if he offers it partially, under certain restrictions, it will only lead to further discussion, without a successful result to either party.

The Chapter of the Garter is now to be held in town. This alteration is just determined upon; it will be on the 15th, 16th, or 17th of next month. I will tell you now confidentially how it is arranged. The vacancies are created by the same privileges being granted to the late King's descendants, as the King has granted to his own; viz., of being extra knights. This opens the Duke of Gloucester, Prince William, &c.; and the four vacancies are to be filled up by the Earls of Dartmouth,* Winchelsea,† Chesterfield, and the Marquis of Abercorn;‡ such is now the determination. Whether Pitt can stand such an arrangement, I should doubt; but he will have great difficulty in altering this nomination.

What I have always foretold has now taken place—the reconciliation of Pitt and Addington. I was sure of it, when I gave you the hint two months ago. What the latter is to have, is yet uncertain. If it can be arranged, he will have a peerage, and the Presidentship of the Council; but the Duke of Portland has outlived expectation. Another idea is removing Lord Mulgrave;§ and perhaps it may end in his being one of the Secretaries of State, which, from Lord Harrowby's incapacity, must now be newly arranged. Vansittart‖ will go to Ireland as Secretary.

* George, third earl. He died in 1810.

† George, eighth earl. He died Aug. 2, 1826.

‡ John James, first marquis. He died 27th Jan., 1827.

§ Created Viscount Normanby and Earl of Mulgrave 7th Sept., 1812. Died 7th April, 1831.

‖ Created Lord Bexley in 1823.

These were arrangements thought of a fortnight ago; they may alter, and probably will. Pitt certainly will be much strengthened by this new alliance; and if all remains well here, which I think it will, he must be strong enough to carry on the government. The unwarrantable and indiscreet conduct of the Prince, every hour shews itself more and more.

W. H. F.

Dec. 19th.

Since I wrote to you last, I think appearances in this quarter are not so favourable as they were. There is an evident alteration for the worse in irritation of manner and general system, and in many particulars that cannot be described; it can only be judged by those who know his habits, and have the means of observing them. When I say this, I must, at the same time, add, that since the last illness, I have known it considerably worse; and perhaps this alteration in the last week only proceeds from some object that is frustrated, or some accidental circumstance that will pass over. They are gone to town to-day, according to custom, and return Friday. Lord Moira is expected from Scotland this day. His task is difficult, excepting that he has to contend with an antagonist so undecided, so cowardly, and, in my opinion, so *dirty in every respect* as the Chancellor. The little girl,* I hear, is gone to Carlton House, with an express injunction from the father not to visit anybody without his permission. I still have every reason to think Addington and his party will support the King's government, though the ill-blood between Pitt and him is not done away. The former, during Lord Harrowby's illness, undertakes the foreign details. He must have enough upon his hands just now. Probably, on the political intrigues of the present moment (which are not a little curious and interesting) you are better informed than I am;

* Princess Charlotte.

but the approaching Session promises no great repose to the Ministers.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Dec. 20. 1804.

My dearest Brother,

Nothing occurred while I was in town worth writing to you. Lord Harrowby's accident you will have seen in the papers. It has not created, but only confirmed the necessity which had already arisen from the state of his health, for his resigning his office; and the last day I saw Home, who attends him, he told me that although he had now been able to pronounce him nearly out of danger, he had given it as his decided opinion, that in the best course that could be hoped for, it must be three months before he could be fit to attend to any business whatever. It is supposed that Pitt is divided between Lord Hawkesbury, Yorke, and Canning, as his successor. I have good reason to believe that his inclination is to replace Lord Hawkesbury in that office. This will be a bitter pill for Canning; especially after having already been disavowed by Mr. Pitt, for what he said in the House of Commons on the subject of Lord Harrowby. In all other respects, I think it matters little to us on which of the three the choice falls. He will have a great loss in Lord Harrowby, who is, with the exception of Lord Melville, the only person he had in his government capable of giving him any assistance.

I know nothing else; and certainly one must be as idle as I am here, with my leg on a stool,* to think this worth a letter of two pages. One reads in the papers how Lord Moira is coming from Scotland to adjust the contending claims of the two great personages; but more than that I do not know. *A propos,* I had forgot your question of the heavy accusation laid upon me, of having written the Prince's last letter. I believe you know

* Lord Grenville had recently ruptured a tendon.

that the fact is as follows:—viz., that the Prince, on my coming to town to vote at the Charter House, ordered Lord Spencer, Wyndham, Tom, and myself, to dine with him. We did so, and met no one else but Sheridan. He then told us the long history of what had passed in the negotiation between the Ministers and him, through the Chancellor, Pitt, and Lord Moira. He also stated the history about his daughter; stated—not as asking our advice—his determination not to part with her; told us of his having sent back the letter which the Chancellor had sent him on the subject as from the King; read to us the Chancellor's reply on this head; and the very harsh (and uncivil one might add) letter from Pitt on the same occasion; and, lastly, shewed us the letter which Fox—being in this state of things consulted on the subject—advised him to send in return, and which, he said, he was to send the next day. This communication, as you see, did not admit of much counsel. Nevertheless, my rule is to speak my opinion fairly on such occasions; and I therefore suggested the only amendment which the letter really did appear to me to require, which was to express a little more strongly the protestation it contained of duty and respect to the King, and the explanation of the only ground on which he could be justified in having returned a letter purporting to come from the King; viz., that the letter itself showed on the face of it, that the persons through whom it had been conveyed, had utterly misrepresented the Prince's wishes and intentions to the King, and was grounded entirely on that misrepresentation.

This is all the share I had in the letter. This story it may be advisable to tell to those who are entitled to that sort of confidence from us; but it is neither right towards the Prince, nor desirable for ourselves, that we should, with the public at large, appear to be making distinctions, for the purpose of disavowing him and his proceedings, though we certainly are not in reality and fairness responsible for them, while we are consulted only occasionally and in part.

I have examined the question itself, and I am confident that if so unfortunate a thing should happen—which God forbid, as that it should become matter of public discussion—but if it should, there is no possibility of supporting by anything like a legal argument, the opinion of the ten judges against the two in 1718.

The want of harmony between the Prince of Wales and the King, threatened to break into open discord, in consequence of an intention expressed by the latter, to undertake the education of the Princess Charlotte. Possibly this idea would not have been opposed by the Prince, had not the King recently paid attention to the Princess of Wales more openly than usual. Such conduct suggested an arrangement most unpalatable to the father; and hence arose the difficulties and embarrassments detailed in the correspondence.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 22.

My dearest Brother,

I did not think it necessary to write to you yesterday, because the melancholy letter which I received from poor Lord Carysfort yesterday mentioned to me that he had already written to tell you of the shocking loss that he had sustained by the death of Lord Proby. I know no particulars of this sad event, except that he died of the cursed climate of Cayenne very soon after he arrived there.

Lord Moira, the Prince, and Mr. Fox have all been in town the last two days, and dined together yesterday at Carlton House; but as I am confined, and have seen nobody, I know nothing except that Fox appears satisfied entirely with Lord

Moira, and that the Prince says Lord Moira has now again refused, though pressed to take the foreign seals.

The notion is, that Mr. Pitt is endeavouring to make such an arrangement as may gratify the King in moving Princess Charlotte to Windsor, and satisfy the Prince by not excluding him from a share in the control of her education.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 24, 1803.

There seems to be strong reason to believe the report which you have received respecting the state of things at Windsor. I have just now learnt that on the 2nd December, the King ordered his Ministers to send up for Lord Moira, that he repeated this order two days afterwards, and has latterly been outrageous to find that it was the 12th or 13th, that the messenger was despatched with this order; my account goes on to say that Mr. Pitt immediately saw Lord Moira, admitted that Lord Moira had never expressed it to be a wish of the Prince's that the Princess Charlotte should be put under the care of the King, but hoped that some modified course might now be adopted which would be satisfactory to the parties; that he rejoiced in Lord Moira's arrival, and that he was very impatient to see him.

Lord Moira now asking what was the fittest time, was told by the Chancellor and Pitt that he should go down on Sunday to Windsor, and see the King after chapel; all this remained so settled on Saturday morning, but late on that night, or early on Sunday, Lord Moira was apprised by the Chancellor that it was impossible he should see the King on that day, and no other day was named.

This agrees so exactly with your notions, that it leaves no doubt in my mind, but that your report is well-founded. I understand, however, that if Lord Moira hears nothing more, he means to go to Windsor to present himself there, and to shew that he is ready

to obey the King's commands, if his Majesty has any commands for him; all this is a strange state, but if the King is well and can see Lord Moira, I think, by what I hear, the business of the Princess Charlotte will probably be settled peaceably.

It seems an undoubted fact that Addington has had a conciliatory dinner with Pitt at Lord Hawkesbury's, but whether this is by royal orders for the better array against Catholic Irish, or whether it be a speculation of the politicians themselves, I know not; but I do not think that the character of Addington will rise by taking office under Pitt, or that of Pitt improve by Addington's accession.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 27, 1804.

My dearest Brother,

I am told to-day, that Lord Moira, having received no new summons to Windsor, wrote a letter to the Duke of Kent, such as was proper to be shewn to the King, in which Lord Moira described himself as having come to town at the King's commands, and as being anxious to know in what manner and at what time he was to receive them; the letter was shewn, and the answer, as reported to me, was that "his Majesty had not any orders to give to Lord Moira;" this was the substance, though I know not the precise terms which were used, and consequently Lord Moira is either gone to-day, or goes to-morrow to Leicestershire. What makes this more surprising is, that the ministers had appeared quite satisfied with their hopes that Lord Moira's account to the King of the Prince's sincere disposition to accommodate this matter, would succeed in putting the most desirable end to this unpleasant business.

Lord Carlisle has just told me that the state robe-maker has called upon him to-day to take his measure and his orders about brocade vests, white satin pantaloons, white plumed hat, &c., for a grand festival or installation, I know not which, that is to

be kept at Windsor on St. George's day, where all the Knights of the Garter are to be exhibited to the public; the man had just left Lord Camden, and expresses some doubts whether the proper silver brocades, &c., can be manufactured by the time, though he is told that whether they can or no, they must. The Windsor uniform is directed to receive the addition of scarlet velvet breeches; that part of Lord Dorchester's new liveries having been particularly noticed and admired at Milton Abbey.

A little rumour has arisen to-day of the Duke of Portland's ill health requiring retirement as much as Lord Harrowby, which looks to me like making Addington a peer and president, although his friends still describe him as "indotatus;" if to his presidency there be the addition of Yorke, Secretary of State, and Tierney in Ireland, the old Doctor's government will be re-established, with nobody for the King to back out of it, but Pitt and Lord Camden. The Duke of Queensbury* wrote to Addington a letter of congratulation for himself and the public upon the report of the reconciliation, and he shews Addington's answer, which says that it is a reconciliation *most cordial and most sincere on both sides,* and that the date of it is the date of new happiness to him, which he hopes he shall enjoy through life.

Thus ends my chronicle for to-day—the General is a little unwell and is preparing himself properly for his visit to Windsor, which is to take place about Saturday, as the King comes to Kew and London for Wednesday and Thursday. Pray thank Mr. Fisher for his letter, for I have not time.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Dec. 31, 1804.

My dear Brother,

It appears that Lord Moira, who had been pressed by the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt to go to Windsor to see the King on

* William, fourth duke. He died in 1810.

Sunday, was by the Chancellor told on Sunday morning, that he could not see the King that day, and yet named no other day. Lord Moira, after waiting a day or two, wrote a letter to the Duke of Kent, in which he recapitulated the heads of all that had passed hitherto, and farther described the general disposition of the Prince to meet as much as possible the King's wishes, reserving only as main points, first, that the Princess Charlotte should not be taken from the Prince, in order to be put under the management of the Princess of Wales; secondly, to give the Prince a negative as to any particular person to whom he might object about the person of Princess Charlotte; and, thirdly, that he might have her when he pleased at Carlton House, which should be considered as her home, although she might be at Windsor whenever the King and Queen and his sisters wished her there. After naming something like these reservations, the letter described the Prince's earnest wish to concur as much as possible in the King's arrangements; and Lord Moira stated farther that he had come day and night in obedience to his Majesty's orders, and was anxious to be honoured by receiving the King's commands, whenever his Majesty would signify it to be his pleasure to see him.

This letter was read by the Duke of Kent to the King, who heard it with some agitation, and then dictated for answer that "the King was persuaded that nothing unpleasant in this business was imputable to Lord Moira, but that his Majesty had no commands for Lord Moira." Lord Moira then went into Leicestershire, and the Prince saw the Chancellor, to whom he repeated all that Lord Moira had said on his part in the letter; and, as I understand it, the Chancellor said something to the Prince, which implied that they would send up for Lord Moira as soon as his communication could be made useful; and, as the Chancellor and Mr. Pitt went down to Windsor, and passed some hours with the King the day before yesterday, it is possible that since that, they may have sent up for Lord Moira; although the Prince does not know whether they have or no, the Prince having heard

nothing since he saw the Chancellor on the day that Lord Moira left London. I still hope and still incline to think that it will pass off without publicity; but the long and frequent visits to Blackheath from Windsor for an unusual length of time, are not calculated to smooth the difficulties of Carlton House.

If I knew how to trust common report, I should believe that what Mr. Pitt has gained in numbers will be lost to him by the unpopularity which his junction with Addington carries with it in the eyes of many; and, for my own part, I am persuaded that the state of dependence in which it throws Mr. Pitt, upon the King, and the old Addington administration, must be very mortifying to him and to his real friends. Many rumours are abroad to-day. Addington, the blue ribbon, in the House of Commons, and some say, without office. Others say, Addington, Home Secretary in Lord Harrowby's room; Yorke, Secretary of State for War Department in lieu of Lord Camden, who goes to Ireland; and Hawkesbury, Foreign Secretary. The Chancellor President, Addington a peer and Speaker of Lords is another version, and in either case for Addington, still the Chancellor is talked of as being worn out of his place, and as being urgent to retire, in which case he will be succeeded by Lord Redesdale.* Some say Grant will succeed the Chancellor, and be himself succeeded by Percival, and then Dallas and Gibbs, Attorney and Solicitor. Others say Lord Hobart is anxiously trying for Ireland.

These are the many curious reports; meanwhile, Pitt stays this morning for a council, and goes at night, if he can, for a few days, to Bath. The King's visit to Addington, must, I think, show Pitt his true situation, but if the ribbon follows, it will be so strong as to be unanswerable. What a strange crisis!

While Mr. Pitt was losing ground in popular opinion by a more close alliance with the Court, Lord Grenville was

* John Mitford, first baron, Lord Chancellor of Ireland. He died 16th Jan., 1830.

acquiring additional popularity by his increasing intimacy with the distinguished advocates of a liberal policy. With Mr. Fox, he was on cordial terms, and by the Prince of Wales was regarded as a counsellor to be consulted on matters of the greatest delicacy and importance. His advice on one occasion, it has been shown, had been misinterpreted, probably with a malicious purpose. His own explanation renders any justification unnecessary. He had, however, higher duties to fulfil; how he fulfilled them will presently be shown. Lord Brougham says: "His alliance, whether his intrinsic or accidental qualities were considered, might justly be esteemed beyond all price. The friends of civil and religious liberty duly valued this most important accession; and the distinguished statesman whom they now accounted as one of their most powerful champions, and trusted as one of their most worthy leaders, amply repaid the confidence reposed in him, by the steady and disinterested devotion which, with his characteristic integrity and firmness, he gave the cause."*

* Statesmen of the Time of George III.

1805.

THE PITT AND SIDMOUTH CABINET—IMPEACHMENT OF LORD MELVILLE AND RESIGNATION OF LORD SIDMOUTH—MR. PITT REFRAINS FROM FORMING A STRONG GOVERNMENT—THE BATTLE OF TRAFALGAR—BONAPARTE'S SUCCESSES IN GERMANY.

THE position of the Cabinet at the commencement of 1805, was not calculated to inspire confidence. All its real strength was derived from its distinguished leader. But he lay under the disadvantage of having abandoned those principles which had gained him popularity, to secure his return to power, which he had found he could not maintain without sharing it with the Minister he had superseded. This accession neither improved his standing with the people, nor with the sovereign. Indeed, there is reason to believe that it had an opposite tendency with both. The one regarded it as a further removal from popular sentiments; the other looked upon it as an approach to that domination in the government which he had ceased to exercise when Mr. Addington was compelled to resign.

To protect himself as much as possible from the ordinary effects of favouritism, Pitt insisted that Addington should be removed from the House of Commons, where a rivalry, if it should be developed, must have greatly embarrassed him. In the House of Peers, the ex-minister would be out of his way, and could not, by his notorious possession of the royal favour, exert an influence among the members of the Lower House, which would affect the dignity of his own office. Addington was therefore ennobled, and allowed to fill a place in the Ministry more respectable than influential.

As will presently be seen, this strange alliance excited much speculation in political circles. It was not satisfactory to Pitt's personal friends, nor was the disposal of Addington acquiesced in by himself without a struggle. The former, however, prevailed, and Mr. Addington joined the Ministry, with the office of President of the Council, and the title of Viscount Sidmouth, early in January. When forced out of office by a powerful combination, he had prudently refused all honours and emoluments that might have excited a strong feeling against him throughout the country. But he was no longer in the position of a disgraced minister; and enjoying the support of the sovereign, and the alliance of Mr. Pitt, there seemed nothing to dread.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF *BUCKINGHAM.*

Charles Street, Jan. 5, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I have not yet heard any more details, but *it is certainly true* that the Prince, after seeing the Chancellor, said he hoped and believed that things might end satisfactorily. I was not aware

that the language which you describe respecting Pitt and Addington, had been quite as generally indiscreet and unguarded as you describe it; and it is also new to me, that there has been recent cause of alarm as to health. That a universal impression is given of the King's partiality to Addington, and that Pitt's personal power and influence will be sensibly impaired by all the consequences of this reconciliation, is very generally said and believed; but most people are of opinion, that if Addington is made a peer, he will become less useful to the King; and for the purpose of being held over Pitt, *in terrorem*, he should still, it is thought, be kept in the House of Commons.

I have confidentially been told, from the very best authority, to-day, that Lord Wellesley is supposed to be now actually on his return; and Lord Cornwallis has consented to go out again immediately to India for two or three years. Lord Cornwallis's friend tells me, that upon Pitt's coming in, Lord Cornwallis sent him word that he was ready to serve whenever he could be thought useful. Pitt found it impossible that Lord Wellesley could go on in all his hostility to the Directors, and proposed to Lord Cornwallis to go, and he has accepted, and is to go very shortly—almost immediately. He takes nobody with him; and names his military secretary, and private secretary, from among the officers now in India. Lake continues with him in the same manner as with Lord Wellesley. I take for granted this will end in Pitt's reserving some cabinet arrangement for Lord Wellesley.

Osborne Markham, Commissioner of the Navy, has received a formal note of dismissal from that office, "on account of indiscretion;" but is at the same time told that, in consideration of his services, he shall have some other office of equal value. What his services are, I know not; his indiscretion is that of quarrelling with Sir A. Hammond.

P.S.—I am not at liberty to talk generally of Markham's dismissal, therefore be so good as not to name it.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 7th Jan., 1805.

My dearest Brother,

As I always avoid the seeking for any confidential intercourse with royal houses, I have no new information to send you respecting the young princess; but I still am inclined to believe that all may be patched up and compromised.

The reconciliation between Pitt and Addington must have been sudden, as I know that only two days before, upon Pitt touching his hat as he passed by Addington, Addington observed to Dyson, who was riding with him, that even that greeting was new to him. A letter from Pitt to Lord Hawkesbury, written in order to be shewn to Addington, is now said to have been the first overture. The peerage is certain; for Lord Glastonbury told me that Pitt, whom he met riding, told him so; and Lord St. Helens yesterday told me he had heard the King say that Addington was to be a peer. The prevailing opinion still is that he will be Lord President, and Duke of Portland to have the Duchy of Lancaster, unless Lord Hobart prevails in the struggle. Lord Mulgrave, with Ward* for his Under-Secretary, has the Foreign Seals, though most people think that he is only put in *ad interim*, till Lord Wellesley's arrival, who is expected in June. It had been much reported yesterday that the King had demurred to Lord Mulgrave's appointment, on account of his hostility, and that of Ward, to Addington; but I cannot find that there is good authority for this royal veto, though, in truth, when one recollects Mulgrave's personal attacks upon Addington in the House of Lords, and those of Ward, in his famous pamphlet, one cannot think these two appointments very conciliatory to Addington in the honeymoon of their loves.

It appears by the arrival of Lyall, the messenger, that while

* Robert Ward, Esq., M.P.

all the world has been anxiously awaiting the arrival of Mr. Frere, he has been pursuing his own course with the greatest *sang-froid* possible. He left Madrid the 14th November, and amused himself upon his road, so as not to arrive at Lisbon till the 10th December, and, as I hear proposed passing a month or two for his amusement with Lord and Lady Holland at Lisbon, before he returns to England. In the meantime, the Spanish government have not been so dilatory, for they have actually declared war against this country. The first business in parliament will, as I suppose, be the Spanish war; and though I presume there will be no opposition to the Address on the 15th, yet I take for granted that the subsequent Monday will be a day of business in both Houses; and I had taken for granted that we should see you in town the 19th or 20th at furthest.

Lord Grenville, when he left me, said he would be in town on Saturday next, the 12th instant.

Addington told Hatsell that last Wednesday at Kew, where he went by appointment, the King made him sit down *téte-à-téte* to dinner with him.

This little bit of court news appears to be correct, except the date. Mr. Addington, in a letter to his brother, dated December 29th, says: "I am just returned from Kew, where I passed an hour and a half with his Majesty, and partook of his dinner." As the reader may probably have some curiosity to know what delicacies comprised the royal banquet, the quotation is continued. "Which consisted of *mutton chops and pudding.*"*

The Marquis of Buckingham's suspicions about negotiation with France, noticed in the first paragraph of the next letter, were well founded. - Bonaparte made general proposals for peace a day or two afterwards.

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 342.

Napoleon, as soon as he had effected his elevation from First Consul to Emperor, for the second time addressed a letter to the King of England, proposing peace, in which he represented himself as seeing only a melancholy prospect in two great nations combatting merely for the sake of fighting, and expressed an assurance that the continental powers would remain at peace, whatever efforts might be made by England to effect a coalition. Lord Mulgrave, the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, addressed Talleyrand in reply, on the 14th of January, stating the King's most earnest desire for an honourable peace, but adding that, before a specific answer could be made to the proposals that had been received, the King was bound to consult his allies, particularly the Emperor of Russia, of whom a very high opinion was expressed. This answer greatly exasperated Napoleon; he no longer affected the slightest desire for peace.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 8, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

In case George Berkeley should not have written to you, I enclose to you his letter to me, which confirms your suspicions about negotiation with France, though perhaps in the outset only about prisoners; but still I hear as you have done of Addington's disposition to peace, and I see the rumour of that disposition very industriously circulated by all his friends. I collect to-day, that the Presidency only waits for an answer from the Duke of Portland, which had not arrived yesterday. An intimate friend of Addington's, who is in all his secrets, told me that Addington was by no means pleased with the present result, as he had earnestly urged that he might remain in the House of Commons without office, and in the cabinet, "but, (says he) Mr. Pitt insisted upon

having his *services* in the House of Peers, *for I suppose I must not be allowed to say that he wanted to get him out of the House of Commons.*" If I chose to write the name of this person, you would feel how decisive it was. On the other hand, I have had occasion to know from one or two of Pitt's strong personal friends, that this last step has been very much against their wishes and opinions, and one of them did not scruple to say to me this morning, that he would rather have advised Pitt to resign his office, than to continue to hold it by being a partner with Addington. You may guess then what that union can be, of which the respective partizans speak as I have described them to speak to me. I still hear Lord Hobart talked of for Ireland, though I do not hear anything either of Lord Hardwicke or Yorke. The Archbishop of Canterbury is not expected to outlive the day —will it be Sutton, or will the King make the Primate, to shew his disdain of Pitt?

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 11, 1805.

DEAREST BROTHER,

The King holds a council at Buckingham House to-day to give the seals to Lord Mulgrave, and to receive Poole Carew among the members of the Privy Council; he is said to have earned this honour by the suggestion by which he has been fortunate enough to relieve Addington from the serious difficulty of fixing upon the most becoming title—a difficulty which had occupied the select councils of that great man for some days past. Viscount Banbury was of the cheesemonger's shop, Viscount Reading did not sound dignified, and he was reduced to determine upon Viscount Addington for want of a better, when Poole Carew affirmed a collateral connexion between the houses of Addington and of *Sir Walter Raleigh*; and *Viscount Raleigh* is the new designation of the Doctor; the perverse fates, however, have still decreed that even this new name shall not banish the medical

remembrances which are still to hang around him, for Raleigh's gout-cordial-confection is still of great medical celebrity, and will not be less talked of by the wicked wits, when the Doctor's new honours shall be announced in the Gazette. *Au reste,* I still hear of Lord Buckinghamshire for Ireland, and still do not hear what is to become of either Lord Hardwicke or Yorke. Lord Grenville and Wyndham, and Fox, and Elliot dine here to-morrow, and I heartily wish you were here to join us in our laugh, for it is impossible to be serious upon such ludicrous subjects.

I have not heard one of Pitt's friends quoted yet for approbation of this measure, but I yesterday heard that Canning remains. Pray come up and let us talk over these things—there is too much to write of.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Saturday, 12th Jan., 1805.

DEAREST BROTHER,

A night of the Doctor's sleep drove him from Raleigh to Sidmouth, but the former title had been so completely settled, that the King's warrant ran in that name, and has been obliged to be changed, for Lord Ellenborough told Fawkner that he had actually seen the warrant with the name of Raleigh. The new patent could not be completed before Monday, and therefore on Monday it is that the Doctor is to be President. I am now told that the Doctor has made a point of having Lord Hobart in the Cabinet, and that he will at first be there without office, and will ultimately go to Ireland; all this sounds credible except the article of his having no office at first. Serjeant and Vansittart are to be Privy Councillors on Monday, in imitation of Rose and Long. I hear Pitt quoted for having told Woronzow that Sir John Moore was not gone to Portugal; Sir John has just appeared again.

God bless you, my dearest brother.

Duke of Portland has resigned the Presidency, but demurs to the Duchy of Lancaster. Pitt went to him last night.

The Whigs now began to concentrate their forces for the approaching campaign. Their leaders were men of great political influence, and several were possessed of commanding talent. Among those who took a prominent part in Opposition, we find, at least, two of the royal princes—the Prince of Wales, and the Duke of Clarence, Lord Grenville, Fox, Wyndham, Earl Spencer, and Lord Carlisle. The last five alone must have appeared formidable, even to so bold and skilful a minister as Pitt. They were, however, supported by a body of minor chiefs, many of whom were very little inferior to them in debate. The new Premier had laid himself open to attack by his sudden abandonment of his recent associates, who were not disposed to spare him. In fact, he had no defence for his conduct to the Catholics, as Mr. Thomas Grenville's argument, at p. 412, clearly proves.

At the opening of Parliament on the 15th of January, on moving the Address in the House of Peers, the most impressive speech was delivered by Lord Grenville, who expressed his approval of every part of it, though he objected to the policy that had been pursued towards Spain.* In the House of Commons, on the same day, Mr. Fox went more minutely into the ministerial sins of omission and commission. But the parliamentary power

*When the two nations were at peace, on the 5th of the preceding October, four treasure frigates, on their homeward voyage had been intercepted off Cadiz, and captured by four English frigates, under the command of Captain Moore. The justification was that the government had learned that the captured vessels were about to pass into the possession of France.

of the Minister was soon shown; for in a debate that followed a motion made by Mr. Pitt for an address to his Majesty, approving of the war with Spain, on the 11th of February, the division showed a majority in his favour of 106. Other trials of strength followed with much the same result.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 15, 1805.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

As soon as I have taken my seat to-day, I will move the writ for Buckingham.

There was a small meeting yesterday at Lord Moira's, at which were present the Prince and Duke of Clarence, Lord Spencer, Lord Carlisle, Lord Moira, Lord Grenville, Fox, Wyndham, and myself. It seemed the general opinion that no amendment should be moved, but that, reserving our judgment upon the justice and the expediency of the war, and the propriety of beginning it by the capture of the three frigates, some expressions should be used to show how little we think that any papers can bear out the latter point of the capture of the frigates. In my own opinion, I feel much inclined to question likewise the expediency of a measure which begins by placing Great Britain under the embarrassment of either abandoning or defending Portugal There is now no doubt that Moore has been to Ferrol with a view to reconnoitre that place as an object of attack upon the road to the defence of Portugal, which is the object of the expedition now projected. It was yesterday reported that they had abandoned this project; but some of our friends think they know that it is still in agitation.

Pitt, though he cannot boast of the levies of his bill, means to vapour about the number of men who have volunteered from the reserve to general service; but it is thought right even

to-day to give a sort of notice of moving on the first day, to consider of his bill, least he may pre-occupy the ground by what he will call a bill to explain and amend.

The business of the Princess Charlotte has seemed a little suspended. I understand the last letter from the Prince to the Chancellor (with some expressions of the Prince's wish to do all he can to accommodate), has been considered by the King as agreeing to all that had been proposed by him.

The speech is to be printed for him to read it better, and he is to wear spectacles, and it is said that he will be dressed in a large tie-wig.

The two old ribbons to be given on Thursday are Lord Chesterfield, Lord Abercorn. Of the four new ones, the three certain are Lords Dartmouth, Winchelsea, Pembroke, and the fourth is generally believed to be Duke of Beaufort.

I am still assured that Lord Hobart will ultimately go to Ireland, and Lord Hardwicke become a marquis; but I hear nothing yet of Yorke, except that Addington disclaims him and Tierney as any connections of his own.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Thursday, Jan. 17, 1805.

DEAREST BROTHER,

A mistake about my certificate from the Crown Office prevented me from taking my seat on Tuesday, and therefore I had the Buckingham writ moved for by Wyndham. The general result of what passed on our side in both Houses, is satisfactory enough, but what I heard Pitt say in allusion to his sense of the King's objections to the Catholic measure, convinced me that he is determined (as I had heard he was) to defend himself when attacked upon that subject, by such allusions, and by appeals to his own personal difficulties in respect to the King. Now, in the first place, if this be a defence for his present silence on the subject of the Catholics, he ought so to have defended himself

three years ago, instead of quitting the government; and, therefore, this defence is inconsistent with his former conduct; but the great and important view of this apology is, that it is a direct use of the influence of the King's name from the mouth of the Minister to the Parliament; and in this view it seems to me so very unconstitutional, that it appears absolutely necessary to object to it on that account, whenever any subsequent discussion shall provoke from him an apology of the same description.

Lord Lowther is named to me as much dissatisfied with this new arrangement (although I imagine he will not vote against Pitt,) and, in truth, I have not heard one of Pitt's friends quoted as approving it, except Lord Camden. Friday, the 25th, is the day on which Pitt gives out that the Spanish papers will be debated in both Houses.

They boast of 17,000 men from the reserve, for general service.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 18, 1805.

Dear Brother,

Coutts has just shewn me a letter which he has received from Lord Holland at Lisbon of 31st December, which says "the accounts are just come here of two English line-of-battle ships being driven by the violence of the winds into Ferrol." This seems so positively asserted, that I am almost afraid it may be true. Immense contracts of wheat to the amount of several millions of bushels are contracted for at Paris for the use of Spain, to be paid by drafts on Mexico. Of domestic news I know none, except that the King, finding out that Lord Pembroke had no George, has sent him one very rich and very valuable. At the levee and at the chapter, he is described by everybody as looking uncommonly well, and being less hurried in his manner than he had ever appeared to be.

The government papers are in vain endeavouring to show a great difference of opinion between Fox and Lord Grenville, which does not exist, but which there could be no good motive for disguising or concealing, if it existed. The truth is, that Fox objected to the House of Commons approving of previous communication with the continental powers before any answer is given to the French proposition; not because he thought we ought to stand alone, but because he thought the House, having no papers or information of any sort relative to our continental connexions, was not yet informed enough to express approbation of what might certainly be ultimately right, but what right or wrong was hitherto unknown to them.

Lord Grenville dwelt with great force upon the same topic in quite another point of view; he insulted Lord Hawkesbury for being at length forced to adopt the principle of continental connexion in negotiation for peace, after having disclaimed and abandoned that principle in his famous Peace of Amiens; and as he addressed himself on this subject to Hawkesbury, Addington, and Lord Hobart, all on the same bench, the object of his dwelling upon this act of self-crimination, as with respect to them, could not have been misunderstood by the audience, however it may be misrepresented by the government papers.

I hear the Naval Commissioners' Report is very strong against Dundas and Trotter, for breach of the Act of Parliament, in using, for the advantage of Trotter, the money of the office of Treasurer of the Navy to above half-a-million.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Jan. 21, 1805.

DEAREST BROTHER,

Lord Darnley intends to move in the House of Lords for a return of the produce of the last Defence Bill. Lord Stafford has broken off with Mr. Pitt, from his objections to the junction with Addington, although he says he knows it will be attributed

to his not having the ribbon. Lord Lowther disapproves openly of the same step, and is returned to the country for six weeks, without having had any communication with Pitt by letter or in person. These two facts of these two peers I know. I hear also that Lord Carrington is as much a Frondeur as he will ever venture to be where Pitt is concerned. The Portuguese expedition is said to be now destined for South America. There has been great discontent in the Boulogne army, and four general officers are put into prison there.

On the 13th of February, the Commissioners on the Naval Inquiry which had been instituted during the Addington administration, presented their tenth report, which reflected severely on the conduct of Mr. Trotter, Paymaster, and Lord Melville, Treasurer of the Navy. As the latter was a friend of the new Minister, and the commission was a project of the old, both necessarily took opposite views with respect to this report. Other causes of difference arose, and the feeling between them became still less cordial, after the debate of the 6th of March, in which Sheridan, having been attacked by Mr. Pitt, for his support of the last administration, administered a most severe castigation of the Minister, for the inconsistency of his conduct to Mr. Addington.

The martial ardour of the population did not confine itself to the ranks of the militia. The volunteers, according to a statement of the Secretary at War, now amounted to 325,000 men, and the entire armed force of the empire was estimated by him at 700,000. Men from the regiments of militia frequently volunteered to serve in regiments of the line, and as these were usually the best soldiers, the militia colonels did not approve of the practice. The

strong arguments against it, put forward by the colonels of various regiments, could not be entertained in the face of the absolute necessity that existed of providing the most effective army that could be raised for foreign service. The subject came before the House of Lords, when the second reading of the Militia Reduction Bill was debated on the 4th of April. This was a ministerial measure, and was opposed by the Marquis of Buckingham, chiefly for the discouraging effect it must produce on militia officers. Similar opinions were expressed by Lords Camden, Suffolk, and Carnarvon, but the division gave Ministers 102 to 45. A public meeting of the colonels of militia held in London, was presided over by the Marquis of Buckingham.

Lord Sidmouth began to be dissatisfied with his position; the old bugbear reappeared. "Observing as I do," he writes to his brother on the 16th of April, "that the intercourse with *a certain person* is growing more and more frequent, I look with uneasiness and distrust to the relation in which I stand to the government."* There were other causes of this uneasiness and distrust which are not named, but Mr. Pitt's appointment of Sir Charles Middleton as a successor to Lord Melville, who had been obliged to resign, by the force of parliamentary censure, obtained the credit of being the crowning grievance. It is not easy, on the surface, to discover the meaning of Lord Sidmouth's objections to Sir Charles; nevertheless, the appointment of this gentleman was the ostensible cause of his writing to Mr. Pitt on the 22nd of April, his intention to withdraw from public life. The

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 356.

appointment he declares, is "a decisive proof that my continuance in office could neither be useful to the public, nor honourable to myself; an opinion to which *I have long been compelled to incline.*" As the writer had been in office little more than three months, this assertion must have appeared very singular to his correspondent; but in another letter of the same date, we learn the objections to Sir Charles Middleton, which were simply that Lord Sidmouth desired this appointment for one of his own connections.* The threat to resign did not frighten Mr. Pitt, as, in point of fact, (which his biographer acknowledges,) "his lordship had no particular grounds of objection against Sir Charles Middleton, either public or private." The appointment was confirmed, and Lord Sidmouth—did not resign. A conference and an explanation took place, in which Mr. Pitt held out an attractive prospect to Lord Sidmouth's friends, and one, at least equally attractive, to himself. They parted, so says his Lordship's letter of the 28th of April, with the Minister's assurance that "there was on his part a cordial disposition to maintain with me an unqualified intercourse of confidence and friendship; that it was not capable of being affected, in the smallest degree, by *the prejudice and influence of others.*"

It appears that the conduct of some of the members of Opposition, was not approved of by Lord Grenville. His manly and honourable character is displayed to great advantage in his refusal to lend himself to proceedings against an opponent he considered to be unjust; nor would

* Life of Lord Sidmouth, Vol. II., p. 360.

he countenance anything like faction. Recently there had been a display of violence and personality in the debates in the House of Commons that followed the supposed discovery of Lord Melville's misuse of the funds entrusted to him in his office of Treasurer of the Navy, that must have been far from agreeable to a man of his disposition. Lord Darnley's motion, which came before the House of Lords on the 24th of May, was for a select committee to report upon certain documents from the Admiralty, which had been laid before the House in reference to the charge against Lord Melville. In reply, Lord Melville made an able speech, exculpating himself; and, on a division, the motion was negatived by a considerable majority. Lord Grenville, it will be seen, enters more fully into the state of his feelings, in a subsequent letter, which shows in a stronger light, the dislike he felt for his position as nominal head of the Whig party, in which character he had publicly appeared but once in the Session, when presenting to the House of Lords the celebrated petition of the Roman Catholics on the 10th of May, when he moved that "the House immediately resolve itself into a committee to take the petition into consideration." After a long debate which was adjourned to the 13th, the motion was rejected by 178 to 49. In the House of Commons, on the same day, the subject was ably brought forward by Mr. Fox, and as ably supported by Mr. Grattan. The debate being renewed on the 14th, concluded with a division, showing a majority in favour of Ministers, of 212.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 22, 1805.

Lord Darnley's motion, instead of being a reason with me for coming to town, operates decisively in keeping me away. I wrote to Lord Spencer to say how much I was disinclined to attend it; but that I would unquestionably come at a minute's warning, if he wished it. I have this morning received his answer, which is, that he shall not attend it himself, which, of course, puts my doing so out of the question, even if I wished to do so, instead of feeling all possible aversion to it. Lord Darnley's motion was made without any communication, either with Lord Spencer or myself. Its object is to fix a censure, which, if it could attach at all, would attach much more on Lord Spencer than on Lord Melville, but which is equally unfounded in both cases. You are not ignorant how much I dislike the greatest part of what is now going on; and, certainly, no part of it more than the attempt to decry all the Boards of Admiralty with which I have been acting all through my life, for the purpose of raising up a false reputation to Lord St. Vincent, who may be, and I believe is, a very good admiral, but whom I have never yet seen any reason to approve of, either as a politician or a minister.

I did not approve of Pitt's conduct in the formation of his government last year, and am willing on all occasions to express that sentiment, and act up to it; but I cannot think this (or, indeed, any other feeling) a sufficient reason for my concurring to fix upon him charges of which I know him innocent, much less for sacrificing to the views of those who want to run him down, my own character, and that of Lord Spencer.

As to his Majesty, and his inspection, you and Gwynne must cook it as you think best. If our regiment is to be seen separately, I will then write to Gwynne an ostensible letter to try

that it may be seen here, and that I may be allowed to offer his Majesty a little cold meat after it. If we are to be seen with the Southern Infantry, with whom we have never worked at all, we can do no more than march past; and my only desire will then be, that the place fixed upon may be as far from this as it conveniently can. Stoke Park would probably be the best; and the time must not be much later than the end of the birthday week, or the beginning of the following week, because of our hay harvest. The 11th would, perhaps, be the last convenient day; and, for that reason, the most convenient. If Gwynne is in waiting at Windsor, I could ride over to him there, and fix any further details that you may not have been able to arrange. I will beg you to let me have a line to know how all this is settled, because if I am to give these Royalties a breakfast, I must also feed my own men, and the neighbourhood, at the same time; and this will require not only a preparation of meat and drink, plates and glasses, &c., but also, in the present state of my house and offices, will require no small supply of tents and temporary buildings.

P.S.—You will see by Lord Spencer's decision, which was taken without concerting it with me, that I am not singular in the opinion that it is high time for us to pull up, if we do not mean to be hurried away into courses precisely the reverse of the whole tenour of our lives. For God's sake, consider this more than you seem to have done yet.

Mr. Pitt was supposed to possess a peculiar genius for forming continental coalitions; and he had not long returned to office, before he found an admirable opportunity for its development. The position of the common enemy, and his hostile designs, more than ever demanded a powerful organization for self-defence, and, if possible, for the restoration of certain appropriations, which the law of might alone

had sanctioned. The Emperor of Russia had professed extraordinary eagerness to come forward as the champion of Europe; and, as the representative of an acknowledged power of the first magnitude, the English Minister was perfectly willing to enter into arrangements with him for a joint action against the encroachments of France.

On the 11th of April, a treaty was signed at St. Petersburg, which regulated the terms and the objects of the contracting parties, and the forces they were respectively to employ in carrying these into execution. The forces to be employed, independent of those furnished by England, were fixed at 500,000 men; and the objects of the league are declared to be:—1. The evacuation of the country of Hanover, and the north of Germany. 2. The establishment of the independence of the republics of Holland and Switzerland. 3. The re-establishment of the King of Sardinia in Piedmont, with as large an augmentation of territory as circumstances will admit. 4. The future security of the kingdom of Naples, and the complete evacuation of Italy, including the island of Elba, by the French forces. 5. The introduction of an order of things into Europe, which may effectually guarantee the security and independence of the different states, and present a solid barrier against future usurpations. To enable the different powers who may accede to the coalition to bring forward the forces respectively required of them, England engages to furnish subsidies, in the proportion of £1,250,000 sterling for every 100,000 of regular troops sent into the field.*

* Alison's "History of Europe," Chap. XXXIX. 49.

With such great designs abroad, the proceedings at home appeared to be far from corresponding. It is easy to perceive the increasing anxiety as well as dissatisfaction of Lord Grenville at the conduct both of the government and of the opposition—the position of the country being rendered more alarming by the state of the King's health. His appreciation of the part he was expected to play in the conflict of parties, is extremely characteristic.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, May 27, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

Our reviewing projects may very well rest as they are without any further trouble to you; or we may settle any different arrangement when we meet, which will be on Friday or Saturday at latest.

Certainly it is not necessary to desire me to *think* upon the horrible calamity with which we seem to be threatened, and which was the only one thing wanting to complete the distractions of this unhappy country. It is not easy to think of any thing else. What the Prince of Wales is to do in such a case I know not, but on the best and most deliberate judgment I can form, the result of what has been doing for the last three months must be to leave him almost without a resource. You invite me to come and assume the station which of all others I am most unfit for, that of the head of a party. How can I do so when I am so unhappy as to differ in my whole view of the present state of things from those with whom I am most nearly connected, and as far as I can judge, from every individual with whom I have been acting, except Lord Spencer? You speak of a continued absence since March, with the exception of the Catholic Question (a singular exception for a man who is supposed to be negotiating or seeking to negotiate with the present government!) and yet

I have during the whole Session missed but one debate in the House of Lords, and that was on a motion to censure Lord Spencer and myself, and which, if I had attended it, I must, both in my own defence and in pursuance of a clear opinion, have both voted and spoke against. I have no pretensions to be the head of a party, but if I had, it would certainly be a most extraordinary party, whom I can influence in nothing, but am expected to follow in hunting down the measures and character of a government, of which I certainly was no more the head than I am of the opposition now, but of which I could not well deny that I was often considered as the next responsible member.

Nothing is farther from my mind than to complain of the conduct of others, because they follow their opinions, as I am sure they wish me to follow mine. But to add to the distractions of the country when the very foundations of its safety are shaken both within and without, to play (as you expressed it) the Duke of Orleans's game, without even the wretched motive of personal ill-will or resentment, or false ambition which ever it was, that actuated that wretched criminal—why should I do it? How can I justify it to myself, or to others? or think that when I am doing it I can hope that I am doing otherwise than evil?

Where I think the government wrong as I did in the Spanish and the Catholic questions, I am most ready to take my part. When the question is on the original formation of the government, I have declared, and will continue to declare my decided resistance to the principle of exclusion, and to the wretched system of a cabinet of cyphers, and a government of one man alone. But what friend of mine can wish me to add to the clamour against them on points where I am satisfied they are innocent, or to concur in measures for reviving that agitation, discontent, and popular commotion in the country, which it was my only merit, if I have any merit, to have contributed to allay, and set at rest as I had hoped for the remainder of my life.

I could write volumes to you on the danger of such experiments, and the certainty that whatever party succeeds in practising them, will be the first to be destroyed by them. But we shall meet soon and talk the whole over; when we do, I ask not to influence the conduct of others, but only to be allowed myself to refrain from that from which my judgment, my heart, and my conscience revolts.

If the institutions of the French Revolution had been regarded with disquietude by neighbouring monarchies, those of the empire were a hundredfold more alarming. General Bonaparte had led armies and gained victories, but Napoleon the First commanded an entire people, and nothing less than nations would now satisfy his thirst for conquest. England appeared to enjoy a preference in the list of doomed nationalities, and for her speedy destruction he exhausted his resources of offence. The immense naval and military armament concentrated at Boulogne for her invasion, grew daily more and more formidable. The Titanic spirit which animated the imperial vengeance, did not disdain somewhat Lilliputian means of warfare. His tongue and pen were as hostile as his combustibles, and he used every exertion to circulate in France, and wherever French influence extended, opinions intended to take away the character of the people, whose liberties he had determined to extinguish. The animosity that became a marked feature in the struggle between the two nations, may fairly be attributed to those bitter speeches and addresses, which, after inoculating with their virus the excitable population on one side the Channel, by means of translation and comments, equally inflamed that on the other.

Napoleon, Emperor of France, was declared King of Italy, in March, and was crowned at Milan on the 26th of May. Shortly afterwards, he issued a decree, incorporating the Ligurian Republics with his own empire. While thus apparently absorbed in the aggrandisement of France, he was labouring as intently for the destruction of England, by shutting out English commerce from Italian ports, and by arranging an overwhelming naval combination to obtain the mastery of the Channel, during his projected invasion from Boulogne. It will presently appear that his laboured attempts to destroy our commerce, was not more successful in the West Indies than in Europe.

Appearances indicated, at this period, an approaching arrangement between Pitt and his old friends. Lord Sidmouth, notwithstanding the pains that had been taken to render him harmless, had, as we have shown, began to make the head of the Administration understand that he was aware of his own influence, and was not indisposed to exercise it; this induced the former to look about him for the means of strengthening his position, and it was natural to anticipate that he would have had recourse to the Grenvilles; but there were difficulties in the way of a coalition in this direction that could not at once be surmounted: those arising out of his alliance with Lord Sidmouth and his retainers, were, however, more serious. His Lordship had not been appointed Secretary of State according to promise, nor had his family been provided for in the way they had been led to expect. The former naturally again became dissatisfied, and the latter testified their displeasure by voting against the government. It

appears, also, that there was a diminution of the King's favour for Lord Sidmouth, and of his prejudice against a far more distinguished statesman. From an entry in Mr. Abbot's Diary, towards the end of June, we learn on the authority of Lord Sidmouth, "On the day before yesterday, he, (Lord Sidmouth,) had held a conversation with Mr. Pitt, at the Queen's House, the result of which was, that Mr. Pitt had thrown out difficulties about giving appointments to Bond and Hiley [Addington,] and dwelt on the appearance of hostility and defiance shown in their speaking and voting against government. The King then saw Mr. Pitt, and afterwards Lord Sidmouth. His Majesty said Mr. Pitt had acquainted him, that Mr. Fox had declared his wish not to stand in the way of his friends forming part of any administration. The King told Lord Sidmouth that *he and Mr. Pitt should talk matters over together, and not have any go-between.*"

This appears to have been a very unpalatable intimation to the favourite, and when Mr. Pitt declared it was necessary that the conduct of his son and sons-in-law should be marked, Lord Sidmouth pronounced it "arrogance," and tendered his resignation, which was accepted by the Minister with, as Lord Sidmouth describes it, "strong appearances of sensibility and affection; but," his Lordship adds, "his best dispositions were not a match for his infirmities, aided and assisted by —— —— and ——."* Lord Grenville was, of course, one of the offenders.

The wisest politicians could not imagine how the government could now be carried on without having recourse to

* Life of Lord Sidmouth.

the Whigs. Under this impression, Lord Grenville and Mr. Fox were prepared to receive a communication from the Minister, or the King, and sought an early opportunity of taking the commands of the Prince of Wales. His Royal Highness, a short time afterwards, honoured Stowe with his presence, where he was surrounded by the most distinguished members of his party. For the present, however, affairs were allowed to proceed, without the anticipated change; but it was evidently impending. Lord Camden succeeded Lord Sidmouth, Lord Harrowby Lord Buckinghamshire, who had also resigned, and Viscount Castlereagh became Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, in place of Lord Camden.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, June 25, 1805.

I have as yet heard nothing from any other quarter, and if Pitt's audience with the King leads to the taking any step of advance towards us, that can hardly be till to-day or to-morrow, as he must of course have some talk first with the few persons he still consults with.

Sturge's conversation certainly comes nearer to the point than anything one has heard of yet, but the difficulties on all sides are so numerous, and are every day multiplying upon us so fast, that I own I have little idea the thing can take place.

I never can think that Pitt will propose the Treasury to be put into such hands as Lord Hawkesbury's. I know he thinks meanly of his talents for business, though as I lately told you, he has been much satisfied with the line he has held in the disputes between Pitt and the Doctor. Lord Harrowby (if he could stand the fatigue) or even Lord Camden himself, I should think far more likely. If, however, such a proposal really is made, it will relieve us from much difficulty, for no one can

expect us to treat seriously the notion of putting Fox, Pitt, to mention no one else, as subordinates to Lord Hawkesbury.

It does not sound very reasonable for me to write from Dropmore a remonstrance against your going to Stowe at this interesting moment. But if anything is to be done, this week must bring it forward, and as you know I should not be able to bring myself to take even the smallest step without your opinion, you would probably be scarce out of your chaise before you would receive from me an earnest petition to get into it again. I need hardly say that the moment any discussion is set on foot, three hours will bring me to town, but till then I hold that I am more in my place here, than sitting like Lord Temple,* with his long legs crossed, and his long fingers playing changes against each other, waiting to be sent for.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

St. Anne's Hill,† July 6, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I received your letter late last night, and I lost no time in driving over here this morning. I found that Mr. Fox had not, any more than I, heard anything beyond the mere fact of the resignation. We talked over the circumstances and situation of affairs, and we agreed in thinking it probable that some step may be taken, in the course of next week, towards opening a communication with us. Should that be the case, we shall, undoubtedly, on every account be most anxious to take the earliest opportunity of receiving the Prince's commands on the subject. But while we remain unable to conjecture what may be the form, or object of any such communication, it seems impossible for us to anticipate the course to be pursued upon it; and we think it very important that the Prince should not be committed, either in reality, or even in appearance, by any premature discussion of it. After all, it is by no means impossible that the

* Richard, first Earl. † The residence of Mr. Fox.

whole may be left on its present footing, till the meeting of parliament after this prorogation, as the present step appears to have been studiously delayed till the business of this Session was completely over. Should anything new arrive, Mr. Fox and myself should undoubtedly lose no time in coming to town; but at present we doubt whether our doing so could be productive of any advantage, and we see some inconvenience—at least, as to public appearance—that might result from it. We wish that you would have the goodness to submit these considerations to the Prince's judgment, adding always that we are both ready to obey his Royal Highness's summons at the shortest notice. You know already enough of both our sentiments, to see that there is not any probability of any difference of opinion on any part of the subject.

Ever, my dearest brother,
Most affectionately yours,
G.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

July 10, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I have heard nothing more, and am rather inclined to think that the intention is to leave things as they are for the present, under the pretence that the King's situation may mend, but in the hope that other things may mend also.

No person, certainly, has any right to infer anything as to my opinion on a bill which I have not read, and of the grounds of which I am as ignorant as the rest of the House of Lords seems to be. To have spoke and voted for inquiry formerly implies (if it implies anything as to the present question) an opinion that without inquiry, parliament cannot proceed in the manner in which the House of Lords has determined it to be fit for them to proceed.

I really do not well know what to say about the visit to

Stowe. If it were possible really to ascertain that his Royal Highness would be at Stowe by the 16th, I would make an exertion; but the other phrase is too loose to make it possible to hang so much of my private business (and that the most important I have) on so very vague a speculation. Perhaps you could best explain this to the Prince, before you leave town.

At all events, whether we can come or not, I trust you will not take *au pied de lettre*, the Prince's civility of desiring you to invite only your own family to meet him. Lord Spencer, Wyndham, Lord Stafford, Elliot, and I think Fox, would be much more proper persons than we should be, and might be added to us.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, July 12, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I inclose, for your private reading, a letter from *my Lord President*, and my answer. You will see that it announces some proposal to be made after the King gets to Weymouth, (as I suppose) after Pitt has seen him there. Nothing can, in my judgment, be worse contrived than this step as a preliminary to negotiation; and the inferences which one naturally draws from it are as unfavorable as they can be to the success of any such discussion. We shall see, however, what it all ends in, and that end must arrive in the next four weeks, as I shall certainly not defer my Cornish journey in the expectation of that which, if fit to be done at all, could just as easily have been done, and with much better prospect of success three months ago, than three weeks hence. Have the goodness to return me these papers by to-morrow's post, as Tom is going over to St. Anne's on Sunday, and will carry them over with him. You will, of course, not make any communication of them, as Lord Camden's letter, however important in effect, is of a private nature.

EARL CAMDEN TO LORD GRENVILLE.

Arlington Street, July 10, 1805.

MY DEAR LORD,

I have forborn to communicate with you on the subject of our last conversation, as I had reason soon after it, to know, that any attempt towards a better understanding with those whom I ardently wish to see acting together, was not, from several circumstances, likely to take place before the King went to Weymouth; and I should have hardly thought it necessary to trespass upon you now, did I not wish to repeat, though I trust it is unnecessary, that I entertain the same opinions I held at our last conversation, and that I have reason to know, that the change of affairs which has taken place, does not, as far as that circumstance is concerned, render more difficult a more extensive arrangement.

The parliament will be prorogued to-morrow.

I beg you to believe me,

Most sincerely yours,

CAMDEN.

LORD GRENVILLE TO EARL CAMDEN.

Dropmore, July 12, 1805.

MY DEAR LORD,

I am much obliged to you for taking the trouble to write to me on the subject of the arrangement made for filling up the vacancies occasioned by the late resignations. As far as that arrangement is in any manner personally agreeable to yourself, I cannot but feel a pleasure in that view of it. My opinions on the subject of our late conversation certainly remain unchanged. Every hour's reflection convinces me more and more that the best prospect of extricating the country from its difficulties, would be found in the formation of a government on the same principle as was in contemplation last year; and, to me personally, it would

be highly gratifying if I should once more find my political opinions in unison with my private friendships. But I never disguised from myself the difficulties which were in the way of such a plan of government, nor can I avoid seeing how much they are strengthened by all delays, and increased by all steps taken in the contrary direction.

I should be very glad, for the sake of the public, to find myself mistaken in this respect; and my own sense of the importance of the object would lead me to make to it, as far as I was myself concerned, all sacrifices, except those of principle.

Believe me ever, my dear Lord,
Most faithfully and sincerely yours,
GRENVILLE.

It is plain that the Minister's reluctance to the organization of a strong government, such as Lord Grenville had first suggested to him two years since, was not diminished. When the opportunity came for re-union, he hesitated, dallied, and then strove to go on in the old course. The close connection of the Prince of Wales with the Opposition, rendered it every day more formidable; but this probably made the proposed arrangement more difficult with the King.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Worthing, Shoreham, July 19, 1805.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

The enclosed letter from Mr. Nares will best explain to you the reasons why I wish to have your answer upon it before Mr. Nares can have his. I am authorised by William to say that he will concur with us in making a sum of £50 or £100 if that shall be agreeable to you. Mr. Kidd is a man whom I find to be very generally esteemed as a distinguished scholar in Greek

literature, and I am very much disposed to give him my quota of either of the sums which I have above-named. Be so good as to let me have my letter back with your answer. When I left William at Dropmore, after he had received the letter from Lord Camden which he communicated to you, I called at St. Anne's in my way hither, and shewed it likewise to Fox; I found him pretty strongly impressed with the belief that Pitt had already had full powers from the King to treat for a large government without any exclusion, before he filled up the last vacancies, and therefore in the belief of this information which he had received, he considered Pitt's silence, together with the new appointments, as decisive against any expectation of negotiation. I think that what I was enabled to tell him of the language of Pitt's friends, together with Lord Camden's letter, which I shewed him, did in some measure remove this impression, and determined him to do what he could to allay the doubts and disinclination of many of his friends who had conceived great distrust at the last arrangements; he still professes to have great doubts whether Pitt will ever be able to bring himself to negotiate upon the only admissible principle, viz., that of the present government being at an end: and perhaps I feel those doubts not less strongly than he does, but yet it is desirable to keep everything in as practicable a state as possible, and I am glad to see that Fox continues to act upon that view and upon those ideas, though I believe most of his friends wish to drive Opposition to an union with Addington in exclusion of Pitt.

I desired William to propose to you to write to Fox to invite him to meet the Prince at Stowe, which I think would be very agreeable to the Prince, and would, upon the whole, be attended with much advantage; if you think so, perhaps you will write to him yourself. If you wish me to do so for you I am ready, or if you do not like the thing in either way, nothing need be said about it. I likewise named Lord Stafford for you to consider about; he will be going about this time from Herts to Trentham,

which may make the invitation more natural. You see that I am filling your house for you in my mind's eye, but you know that I have no other motive in so doing but to assist the decorations of it. Have you written to Lord Spencer?

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Worthing, July 24, 1805.

MY DEAREST BROTHER,

I yesterday received your liberal gift, to which I have added the same sum on the joint part of the two younger brothers, and have enclosed it to Mr. Nares, with the particulars of the joint contribution of the Adelphi towards the necessities of the poor penniless Grecian.

I yesterday received a letter from town, of good authority, to state that Pitt "certainly does not consider the last arrangements as creating any difficulty in the way of what is so much wished for by the considerate men of all parties; and he certainly goes to Weymouth at the beginning of next month"—*nous verrons.*

I am sorry, but not surprised, that Lord Spencer declines going to meet the illustrious person whom he was invited to meet; there was in early times a coolness between the peer and the Prince, and I never fail to observe, that, in spite of a constant attention on my part to increase a habit of easy intercourse, there is very little real disposition to it in either of the parties; I suppose, on the present occasion, Althorp is too near not to have occurred as an additional difficulty, by appearing to create the necessity of an invitation there, or of some discussion why it cannot take place.

I see you talk of asking Lady Stafford as well as her husband, but I ought to have told you that she is gone to Dunrobin in Sutherland with her son, and that therefore there can be no question of her on the present occasion.

I shall be in town either on Monday or on Wednesday next at farthest, for two or three days; pray see if I can be of any use

to you, by doing there anything for you to assist your preparations —have you any Pandeans, or any Catch and Glee people? would it not assist a vacant morning if you could get the Duke of Grafton's young hounds to run through the ridings of Whittlebury Forest?

Will you have François to wait? shall I bring my curricle down? in short tell me any way in which you can make me useful.

In July, Napoleon reviewed 100,000 men on the sands of Boulogne, and was waiting impatiently for that naval combination which he had previously arranged with so much care and skill. On the 2nd of July he wrote to Admiral Latouche-Tréville, assuring him that could he become master of the channel for six hours, he must be master of the world. On the 4th of August, he wrote to Admiral Decrès: "If we are masters of the channel for two hours, England has lived its time." Such was his confidence in the immense armament he had prepared for the invasion of this country. His design, well-concealed as it was, was penetrated by Collingwood, and thwarted by Nelson. The first blow at the naval combination, in which the success of the scheme depended, was made by Sir Robert Calder, on the 22nd of July, when he attacked the fleets of France and Spain, under Admiral Villeneuve, off Cape Finesterre, as recorded in the following note.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, July 31, 1805.

DEAREST BROTHER,

The "Sun" will probably tell you the naval news; the lieutenant

of the 'Ferret' cutter arrived this morning at the Admiralty with despatches from Cornwallis, inclosing a letter from Sir R. Calder, dated 23rd inst. On the preceding day, lat. 43° 30′, lon. 11° 17′ he had brought to action the combined fleets, consisting of twenty sail of the line, and a number of frigates, his own force being fifteen sail of the line. After an engagement of four hours he captured the 'San Raphael,' 84, and 'Firez,' 74, Spanish ships which he has sent to England, under the protection of the 'Windsor Castle,' which had been crippled by the enemy's shot. The fleets were still in sight of each other, and Calder with fourteen sail left, intended to renew the action.* The killed were forty-one, wounded one hundred and fifty-eight, but no officers. Since this is reported, the three ships are arrived at Plymouth, but the above is the Admiralty bulletin. No news of Nelson.

The little I hear makes me still think some proposition will be made to us, but I have great doubts whether anything will be proposed that can lead even to much discussion. I expect William for a day or two in town that Lady Grenville may buy her cap and gown for Stowe.

You do not mention Lord Stafford; surely it would be well to ask him; his wife and son are in Scotland.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Aug. 2, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

There is as yet no farther account from the fleet, and the office people do not seem to entertain any farther expectations; I should guess there is some disappointment felt, and I am told that the leading paragraphs of the "True Briton" of to-day is evidently pointed with some blame against Calder. It seems to me that the French have only made a running fight to get into

* He did not renew the action, for which he was tried by a court-martial, and reprimanded.

Ferrol, and have sacrificed the two Spanish ships to save themselves. Your apparent anxiety and disappointment at Lord Spencer's absence had induced me to urge him not to abide by his excuse, and Lady Spencer has written to me to-day to say, that though he is sailing about and does not write by that post, he and Lord Althorp will certainly come to Stowe; the only difficulty was, as I suspected, about Althorp; but I think it must fairly be admitted that Lady Spencer's health, (requiring her to be at the sea, or in reach of London advice) is a sufficient excuse for their not inviting the Prince to go from Stowe to Althorp.

I expect William in town for two or three days on Monday. For his royal dinner at Dropmore, he had down with him an Italian confectioner from Duke Street, Manchester Square, who is celebrated for making ices; I mention him because, as you will have great demand for ices, and as this man is very remarkably famous in that line, he might be an acquisition to you. In the cook line, if you want one; perhaps you are aware that the Duke of Portland's is allowed to work on such occasions, and is reckoned the best in London.

I have sometimes thought it might be advisable to ask you how you feel disposed as to asking Sheridan; he is a man upon whom such an invitation would have great effect, and make great impression; it would likewise be probably very acceptable to the Prince, and upon the whole, I should feel inclined to think the invitation desirable, particularly as the Prince has always had him at his most select dinners with us.

I know Sheridan is engaged to a party in Northumberland next week, and therefore perhaps he may be engaged, but I wish you to think of it, and therefore have mentioned it to you.

MR. WYNDHAM TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Pall Mall, Aug. 3, 1805.

My dear Lord,

A long conversation with your brother (Thomas) and a visit

since from a royal personage, (Prince William of Gloucester) has hardly left me time to say, that Mrs. Wyndham and I shall not fail to wait upon you and Lady Buckingham, and in the way you propose, that is, a day or two before the arrival of the Prince. We have settled with Elliot that he should come with us, and have fixed for that purpose to meet at Beaconsfield, so as to be at Stowe at latest by the 13th.

Though Grenville and I continued in conversation for some time, we had nothing new to lead us on, unless it could be called new, that one of the persons holding office under Pitt, and pretty much in his confidence, has talked, within these few days, the same sort of language that has been held for some time; namely, that though they might maintain themselves, they could not go on with any confidence or comfort, and that a proposition of the most liberal sort would soon be made.

If it be true, that Pitt is gone to Weymouth to-day, as the Duke of Clarence told me he had understood, some communication may be expected immediately, though I can hardly think that it will come in, as has been supposed, in the midst of the meeting at Stowe. If it does, his choosing that moment must be considered, I suppose, as a little act of attention, as in the sending a fine turtle.

Lord Hawkesbury, your brother informs me, is likewise going to Weymouth, notwithstanding the two offices which he has resting upon his shoulders at this moment, of Lord Castlereagh's, besides his own.

Some suppose, too, that the propositions being made or not, will depend upon the turn which negotiations take upon the continent. With best respects to Lady Buckingham, let me beg you to believe,

My dear Lord,
Most truly yours,
H. WYNDHAM.

The clamour against his First Lord of the Admiralty exercised a serious effect upon the Minister, who was deeply annoyed, and it was considered, deeply implicated, by the charges. His health suffered in consequence; and the intelligence of the disasters of the allies in Germany, probably aggravated his symptoms. A temporary retirement gave rise to rumours of new coalitions, but these proved to be premature.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Wynnstay, Sept. 24, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I have received a letter from Fox, by which I see that he is persuaded that some proposition is immediately to be made, and that Pitt is now at Weymouth for the purpose of arranging finally the form and substance of it. Fox seems of opinion that it will be such as will not admit of any discussion whatever, but will be deemed inadmissible in the first instance, and, perhaps, I am rather inclined to think that will be the case. Fox goes on, however, to state his opinion, that even if the proposal be such as to lead to discussions, the difficulties arising from those discussions are likely to be found insuperable; and he states shortly, "Naval Commissioners, Lord Melville, Lord Redesdale, and lastly, Pitt's own situation in office."

I have written to him to admit, as I do, the force of these difficulties; but I have told him it is my opinion that if Pitt makes such a proposal, it ought fairly to lead to discussion. Pitt will probably be found ready to make much more concessions upon ever, one of these points, than I see Fox expects him to do; and if Pitt is in earnest in wishing the thing, it seems impossible to imagine that he should not be prepared to make large sacrifices for it. A little time, however, will show. I have

heard nothing from Lord Grenville, and, therefore, conclude he has heard nothing.

I hear our expedition is no expedition, but only a show of preparation.

Long is to try to make peace between Lord Hardwicke and Foster; if he cannot, the Lord-Lieutenant goes to the wall. Pray let me have a line to Charles Street.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Oct. 3, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I rejoice very much at the account you give me of your conversation; but, at the same time I cannot avoid entertaining great apprehension from the natural effect of unqualified and violent censure on one side, and on the other, praise, and defence, and protection. I am very glad that *he* has been with you; and I heartily wish that I had seen him, as I can see no reason for his following his brother's example, who, as you know, never once set his foot within my doors from the moment of his arrival up to this hour. Perhaps he may have called in Oxford Street, and if so, I should hope that a line from me would bring him down here.

I have no doubt that your conjecture is right, and that no proposition will now be made; which will at least save us from the embarrassment of deliberating on many points of difficulty that must have arisen had there been any discussion of the subject, and leaves us free from the reproach of its failure, if it had failed, as was perhaps, in all events, the most likely result.

Let me only say to you once more, that I earnestly hope we shall keep clear of all pledges expressed or implied, as to our opinions and conduct respecting the new state of things which has arisen on the continent. There are, I fear, some at least of the old Opposition, who hold opinions on that point utterly irreconcileable with our principles and practice. I think you and

I long since agreed that, whether we got well or ill into the war, or rather that, because we had got so ill into it, there was no possible way of our getting tolerably well out of it, but by connecting our peace with that of the continent. There were two ways of doing this, and they never could be entirely disconnected; these were, joint negotiation and joint war. To joint negotiation, Fox pledged himself last year in a manner perfectly satisfactory to me, and, as I think, very advantageous to himself. But the thing has now taken the shape of joint war, the propriety of which depends on an infinite variety of circumstances, of all which, I am hitherto in ignorance. But on a general view of the subject, I must own I never had much hope that Bonaparte would enter into a serious negotiation for tying up his own hands from future acquisition anywhere, until the experiment of war shall have convinced him that he has no choice on the subject. I think it, therefore, much more probable of the two, that the alternative of war was that to which we (I mean all the allies) were necessarily driven, and that, in this determination, it is highly important to the greatest interests that this country ever had at stake, to show that we are nearly unanimous. Then comes the consideration of the particular stipulations and arrangements for that purpose: a consideration of great moment most certainly, and on which it would be folly to attempt to reason in the total ignorance both of the facts themselves, and of all the circumstances connected with them. But all the leanings of my mind are favourable to measures of exertion and vigour in a case when I have attributed all our present difficulties to the want of those qualities in former occasions. We shall have full opportunity, I trust, to discuss these points together; because I know from authority that may nearly be considered as indisputable, that there will be no dissolution now, and that parliament is not to meet till Christmas, at which I need not tell you how sincerely I rejoice.

I do not understand that young A's. misfortune is, as you seem

to suppose, the result of a fixed disorder, but of a sudden dejection of spirits. The father is recovering. His line is not to be exactly what you suppose, but something of a middle, which I doubt his being able to maintain long.

A letter from the Austrian army says that hostilities would begin with the beginning of this month. I shall send you, in a few days a bundle of letters between Mason and me, which we have agreed to refer to government, through you, for Lord Hawkesbury's decision.

The misfortune mentioned in the last letter, refers to the melancholy state of Lord Sidmouth's eldest son, who, from the effects of over-study, became in a hopeless state of melancholy mania, which lasted till his death in 1823.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Trentham, Oct. 7, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

The information which I sent you from St. Anne's Hill, appears to have had as little foundation as you suspected; and it is evident that there is no longer any idea of any proposition for general union. Upon my arrival here, Lord Stafford showed me a letter from Long, with excuses for not calling here in his way to Ireland, and with expressions of regret that they were not now to meet in politics as he had hoped; and I am told that the general language of Pitt's friends is now all of the same cast, and that the government is to go on as it is, though there are likewise loose suggestions of obscure reference to great assistance it is to receive. I know that Prettyman has very recently made these allusions; but I know not how to explain them, unless they are meant to apply to Addington; and of him I know nothing except that, in his present state of distress about his son, he is not likely to have been recently tampering with Pitt. It is only four days ago that

Edward Phipps being met by a friend of mine, and being asked what news there was, Phipps answered: "Oh, the best in the world; for we have now got the King our fast friend, and we may now defy them all." This would be too silly to quote from any other mouth; but as he is one of the most familiar and confidential inmates of the Treasury, the expression is worth remarking.

William writes me word that there is no longer any immediate talk of dissolution, and that parliament is not expected to meet till after Christmas. I hope to go from hence about Saturday or Sunday next, and to see you at Stowe in my way to Dropmore.

My last news from town is, that the Duke of Montrose goes immediately to Ireland.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Oct. 20, 1805.

On reading Lord Hawkesbury's letter again, I found it had absolutely nothing to do with the question, and I have therefore sent you by this post a fresh application on the subject.

I hear nothing new, except (what is not new) that General Pitt and Admiral Dundas are pretty well quizzed for their late exploits. You will, I conclude, have read the manifesto in the "Morning Post" against Lord Keith, for not giving to Sir Home Popham all the glory of this signal victory.

You remember Ovid's direction to a lover to shake the dust off his mistress's cloak even when there is none there. Much of this nature is the claim to renown on this happy occasion.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Oct. 22, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I found Lord and Lady King here, and have not, till to-day,

had much opportunity of talking with my brother. His opinions and his embarrassments appear to me to be pretty nearly such as I had expected them to be, and as I had told you that I should probably find them to be. He has written, to-day, to Fox, to tell him that there is no longer any chance of any overture for general union, and to express a wish to converse with him upon foreign and domestic politics, before the meeting of parliament.

I continue to think parliament will meet on the 28th November, although I hear the Michaelmas quarter has been uncommonly productive; but a fortnight or three weeks will finally decide this question, as well as the moment of my brother's meeting with Fox.

Lord Grenville is, however, very anxious to talk over the state of things with you and Lord Spencer before there is any further question of communication with Fox; and he writes to-day to Lord Temple, to accept of his offer of coming here, and to press him to use all possible efforts to persuade you to join him, and to come here with him. Certainly, it is of absolute necessity that, in the first instance, he should converse with you unreservedly as to all his opinions and embarrassments, and as to all yours, and the sooner this is done the better, as, till then, he cannot and ought not to talk confidentially with Fox. I confess, therefore, I am very anxious, if possible, that you should meet Lord Grenville as well as Lord Temple as soon as possible. You will find in him much of the impression that I described to you as to his public sentiments and private embarrassments, but, with that, every disposition possible to discuss the whole question public and private with you first, and then with Lord Spencer, previous to the explanation which it seems absolutely necessary for him to have with Fox before the meeting, and most certainly he has nothing so much at heart as the endeavour to make his own embarrassments clash as little as possible with whatever may be your wishes and those of his friends.

Much, in my mind, ought to depend upon the line that the old Opposition will take as to the French war; but I see no reason to doubt that Fox will studiously prevent any such line being taken as is inconsistent with the opinions and principles to which we are pledged; and as Lord Grenville's opinion decidedly is at all events for declaring that no consideration shall induce him to join the present ministers, there will, as I think, be no essential difference of opinion between you; but I am anxious that this should be discussed without delay. I stay here some days longer.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Oct. 22, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I write by this post to Lord Temple, to beg him not to renounce the project which Tom tells me he has of calling here on his way from Stowe, and, at the same time, to beg him to join his entreaties to mine that you will, if possible, come here with him.

There are many things that I want extremely to talk over with you respecting our political course, now that all hope of united government must finally be relinquished; and if parliament should meet in November, which I am told is not improbable, we shall be taken unprepared unless we first discuss among ourselves, and then communicate with those to whom communication is due.

I hear that a coast expedition is certainly preparing. When I cannot guess. I am tremblingly alive to these French operations. I would willingly hope, if I could, but fear predominates.

G.

Lord Powis, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland; Lord Cathcart, Russia; Lord Harrington, vice Cathcart.

The overthrow of Napoleon's grand scheme for the

invasion of England was given by Nelson at Trafalgar, when he annihilated the combined fleets of France and Spain, for whose appearance in the channel, the former had been so anxiously and impatiently waiting. Captain Fremantle's communication detailing our naval operations at this eventful period, have the recommendation of proceeding from an eye-witness — they possess an additional interest, proceeding from Nelson's second in the line of battle.

Off Cadiz, 28th Sept., 1805.

The 'Euryalus' arrived this morning, Lord Nelson in the 'Victory,' with 'Ajax' and 'Thunderer' are now in sight; since I wrote back I have seen nobody but Sir Robert Calder, who appears to me not to be at all aware of what must happen. He thinks nobody under such circumstances could have done more than he did; he is, however, very low indeed, and complains that the Admiralty have given only an extract to the public of his letter on the occasion. The log-book of the 'Prince of Wales' has been sent to England by orders. Yesterday 'Leviathan' sailed for Tetuan, where I am in hopes she will get water. We go on much as usual, but the large sum of money which was paid to our people, and which they have had no opportunity of getting rid of, is the cause of much drunkenness, thieving, and gambling.

29th. Lord Nelson closed with us, and in course we all went to make our bow; his behaviour to me is the same as it has ever been. After a few minutes conversation about my family, he took an opportunity of telling me that he should give me my old station, which is his second in the line of battle. This is very gratifying to me, as it puts me in a very prominent situation in the order of battle, and a very convenient and pleasant one in the order of sailing. There were so many seniors to me with the Admiral

that I did not dine with him, and he was so obliging as to make Wady apologize to me, (which he had no occasion to do) as two of my seniors were left out, because the table could contain no more.

30th. We dined with Lord Nelson—the juniors and I never passed a pleasanter day. I staid with him until eight at night—he would not let me leave him before. He has obligingly desired me to come to him without ceremony whenever I chose, and to dine with him as often as I found it convenient. He looks better than ever I saw him in my life, and is grown fatter; not so, his Captain—Hardy, whose leg is very bad, and who looks twenty years older than when last I saw him. No man is so well calculated to serve with Lord Nelson as he is, and I believe that whilst Hardy has health to carry on the business he will not have a first captain. I understand it is his intention to cruise constantly off Cape St. Mary's, instead of keeping close in with Cadiz, and that he will keep a very large squadron of two-decked ships always advanced. The change of scene altogether here is so much pleasanter, that I am much better satisfied than being in the Channel.

Poor Sir Robert has, or is to write for a court-martial; Browne and Lechmere must go home to be evidences; I fancy he will take home with him the 'Prince of Wales.' From all I have heard and seen of him, he certainly is not a wise man, and I much fear, will not take proper means to extricate himself from the difficulties that must arise. He is so fair a man to serve with, and so accommodating, that I am much interested in his getting off with credit. Eliab Harvey leads, as senior captain, then Keats in the 'Superb,' then the Commander-in-chief, keeping himself the third ship in the van division, and we follow. We are a fine fleet, but three months will I think make us better; the energy and activity on board the 'Victory' will make those who are slack keep a much better look out, and preserve better discipline.

We have literally been laying too almost ever since Lord Nelson arrived. Before, we were continually on the stretch, and keeping close in with Cadiz. I heard Admiral Collingwood with a detachment of ships are to go off Carthagena.

The in-shore squadron are now near us, I conclude Thornbrough and Lewis will relieve each other, alternately—our means of communication with England will I trust, now become more frequent. We are to have a large proportion of frigates attached to the fleet—I think eight.

Of thirty-three sail of the line, forming the combined fleets at Trafalgar, nineteen were taken, one sunk, six escaped to Cadiz in a state of wreck, and three uninjured, and four were intercepted by Sir R. Strachan. The death of the French Admiral occurred almost immediately after his return to France—another of those sudden and mysterious dissolutions, which about this time closed the career of those public men who had excited the animosity of the French government.

The French squadrons at Brest were not much more fortunate than the fleets of Villeneuve and Gravino. A moiety under Admiral Leissegues, consisting of five ships of the line, and two frigates, was destroyed on the 6th of the following February, by Admiral Duckworth, at St. Domingo, the frigates only escaping; the others, under Admiral Willaumez, met with a similar fate a few months later, in the Chesapeake—one vessel, however, contrived to return to Brest. Besides these, a squadron under Admiral Lenois, was attacked by Sir J. B. Warren, and taken, and another of five large frigates fell to Sir Samuel Hood.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Nov. 7, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I did not write to you yesterday, because the Gazette not being out, I knew no more of the general reports than what would be more fully described in the evening papers; and now that the Gazette is out, I know of nothing to add to it. The impression here in London is universally the same. All the natural sensations of triumph, are overpowered by the just regrets at the invaluable price which we have paid for our victory, in the death of the victor; and something more of abatement of the exultation at the nineteen sail of the first letter, is naturally produced by all the doubts which the second letter throws upon the ultimate fate of the prizes of the 21st. The misfortunes arising from the weather, which destroy all hopes of bringing any of the captured ships home, are still more strongly felt by those who are aware of the difficulty we are under in supplying the present wear and tear of our ships-of-war, and the essential benefit which we should have felt in applying to our own use so many capital line-of-battle ships. Sir A. Hammond is quoted as having said upon this subject, that he hopes we shall be able to go on another year without feeling the loss of our prizes.

I see by the list, that Fremantle, as well as Holloway, were among the seven sail detached, under the command of Lewis, before the action (as is supposed towards Carthagena) and, therefore, I presume, that you cannot have heard from him. His loss in Nelson is as great as that of any individual can be; but the loss of the country is such, as to overbear all private considerations.

Sturges Bourne said yesterday, that he knew that the King of Prussia had taken possession of Hanover; and the Hamburg mails just come in are said to confirm this intelligence, and to add that the total number of the garrison of Ulm, which sur-

rendered with Mack, did not exceed 15,000 men. The expedition has sailed with Don, and without Moore; and the report where I dined was, that Lord Hutchinson had refused to be second in command, though he himself is described, a few days ago, to have said that he had accepted it. Lord Hardwicke has Hobart's place for his two sons and the survivor. Thelusson* is to be the Irish peer upon creation, three peerages being now extinct. Strange reports are spread with the greatest confidence, and universally believed, that a fair proposal has been made to Fox and us, and that we have with him refused to hear of anything unless Pitt first went out of office. What desperate lies they are driven to!

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Nov. 11, 1805.

Your wishes are in part accomplished, my dear brother. Strachan had added to the strength of our fleet by one eighty-four, and three seventy-four French ships, which he engaged and took on the 4th instant. They had come from Cadiz; but either had not known, or would not speak of Nelson's victory, for the officer who brought the news from Strachan, knew nothing of Nelson's battle till he landed here. You will have the Gazette, as it has been printed four hours ago, and I do not learn any additional intelligence.

A report had just now become current of Stirling having taken three of the Rochefort squadron; but I cannot find whether this rests on any good authority.

As the Prussians have certainly destroyed the Electoral government of Hanover, I think they are by that act almost irrevocably committed in hostility with France; and being so, they have no other chance than that of pressing closely on Bonaparte. If they stand on the defensive, and wait till he has beaten Prince

* Created Baron Rendlesham Feb. 1, 1806. He died 8th Sept., 1808.

Charles first, and the Russians next, their own turn will follow after. If they press vigorously on him now, they may yet save the Russians, and the *débris* of Mack's army, and perhaps that of Prince Charles. But obvious as this is, it will still be difficult to prove to them that bold and rapid measures are all that are left to them.

I have heard from William, who has seen Wyndham, and finds his opinions entirely concur with his own. He remarks very justly, that events now arise so fast, as to change the face of things every day; and in that uncertain state it is needless and useless to attempt to concert measures.

Napoleon found himself obliged to abandon his long-cherished plan for the invasion of England, and hastily sought territories more easily assailable. He found his new enterprise as easy as the other had been difficult. In truth, it is scarcely possible to imagine anything that could have been more alarming than the intelligence which reached England from time to time of the French successes, till the astounding climax came in the shape of the surrender of the Austrian army at Ulm, under General Mack, on the 17th of October.

Trafalgar, however, so completely neutralized the immense advantage Bonaparte obtained in Germany, that even those politicians who had been most desponding, now took heart, and looked forward with confidence.

This new aspect of affairs was not lost upon Lord Grenville. His remarks upon it are penned with his usual sagacity and clear-sightedness.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 12, 1805.

What grand events have taken place in the short time since we parted, and how much do they relieve the apprehensions of dangers which then seemed to threaten us so very nearly! The loss of two or three and twenty sail of the line, must disable Bonaparte, whatever be his continental successes, from any very near attempt at projects of invasion; which would hardly be seriously looked to without the means which he seemed to be fast collecting, of facing us in the Channel with a fleet, capable, if not of fighting us to advantage, yet at least of occupying the full attention of our naval forces. This victory has entirely changed the picture, and if the continental success had been on the same side, Europe might again have looked up. As it is, I fear we must still expect great farther disasters in that quarter, unless Prussia acts with a vigour and decision very different from anything that her past conduct has ever given us reason to expect.

The march into Hanover, and the immediate restoration of the King's government there, do certainly seem to indicate a favourable disposition, as far as these things go; but how much is there still between the existence of such a disposition, and the giving effect to it by the only reasonable measure that Prussia can take if she breaks with Bonaparte—the marching at once to attack his army, and to place him in the same situation in which he placed Mack.

I saw Wyndham here two days ago—he passed a day with me, and I had much conversation with him. I found him entirely agreeing with me, and even going before me, in all that I had said to you and Tom on the subject of continental cooperation, and unless some great change is worked in his opinion, (which I hope is not likely,) there is no danger of his language on that

subject being found in the least degree different from that which I can wish to hold.

Under these circumstances, and with a scene daily and almost hourly shifting before our eyes, I cannot think it at all desirable to seek the opportunity of binding ourselves to precise opinions and modes of conduct, the principles of which the family party here have already so fully considered, and the precise shades of which in their application to parliamentary language must be regulated by some reference to the events to be discussed. The particular step which we talked over the second day, I have fully abandoned as impracticable. The naval victory has indeed changed completely the ground on which alone that step could ever have been rested. There remains, therefore, nothing in the present moment to discuss, that may not much better be discussed a week or ten days before the meeting.

I have received to-day a very affectionate letter from Wellesley in answer to mine which he received, per favour of the 'Moniteur,' but it is of as old a date as the month of May last, and it appears two duplicates of it sent overland have both miscarried. He was then of course ignorant of Lord Cornwallis's appointment, but he was preparing for his departure in August, in the expectation of the nomination of a successor, and he hoped in that case to be here in January—at all events he expresses no doubt of his seeing me in the course of the spring. Lord Cornwallis's arrival was, I think, likely to hasten his departure, as it would find him already in some degree preparing for it.

There seems to be a strong opinion that Sir Sydney is to attempt something at Boulogne, but he is unfortunately a long while about it, or what is much more likely, those who employ him have been a long while in making up their minds to such a resolution.

If it were not for the drawback of Nelson's death, whose loss the country can just now but very ill afford, the victory of the 21st would, I think, be as far as I recollect the most complete

naval triumph on record in any part of history. Collingwood's letter seems to me to be uncommonly well written and quite a model for such compositions.

Ever most affectionately yours.

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Nov. 13, 1805.

My dear Brother,

There is no news yet arrived from Collingwood, nor any later account from Prussia, but upon the latter subject the language of Ministers grows hourly more and more sanguine; yet it seems a little strange to me that so important a fact as the re-establishment of the Electoral government of Hanover, which Ministers pretend to have known since Thursday last, should not have been in the "Gazette," and should not be published as a decisive proof of the hostility between France and Prussia; I have therefore still some fears lest the occupation of Hanover should turn out to be only a measure of defence on the part of Prussia, and I am more and more persuaded that if they only adopt a defensive system, they will neither save the combined armies, nor their own, when the combined armies are defeated.

I hear that the four ships taken by Strachan, complain loudly of having been deserted at Trafalgar by the Spaniards, which leads me to hope that the nineteen prizes of that battle will turn out to be mostly French. Lord Camden told me that Lord Harrowby went by Toningen, which looks as if they thought Stade and Hamburg still occupied by the French. Sturges told Elliot, Lord Harrowby was to go up the Elbe if he could, which looks as if they did not know anything about the matter; he farther said that there would be a Prussian army towards the Franconian frontier by the 15th inst. I hope this did not mean the fortified camp at Erfurt, which we read of in the papers,

for that sounds too stationary and defensive for any good purpose.

Tierney is said to speak doubtfully of Addington.

The particular star, mentioned in the following communication, has long since set, never to re-appear in the public horizon. The distinguished poet whose name occurs in a subsequent paragraph, has also passed from our sight, but not from our memory. The letters now become of so warlike a tone, that such references to cotemporary literature express a more than ordinary interest.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, 28th Nov., 1805.

My dear Brother,

Wyndham dined here yesterday, and told me that the editor of a new paper just published, called the "Morning Star," had been with him to profess that his opinions and principles agreeing with those of our friends, it was his intention to conduct his paper in that view, with no other management of government than what might be deemed necessary to the circulation and advantage of the paper. Wyndham mentioned some name that I have forgotten; but he said he knew the connections of the young man, and that they were respectable. Of course I promised to take his paper, and I enclose to you a prospectus. I have said nothing farther on the subject; but it struck me that this is an opportunity which might offer some facilities as to what we have so often talked over respecting your friend in the garden. If you think so, it will be easy for you first to consult with your garden friend, and then he might easily communicate with the new editor, whose name can be learnt from Wyndham.

A subscription is opening for poor Campbell, the author of

"Hope," who, with a wife and two children, has nothing but poetry to give them. I understand he has a laudable spirit of independence that makes him decline pecuniary assistance, except in the shape of subscription to his poems. Pray let me subscribe for you whatever you like. I have already applied to William to see whether he can help him by a clerkship in his office, which I am not without hopes of obtaining for him also.

There is no news yet from the continent; but I am much disturbed to see that the language of Ministers points more to the possession of Holland, than to the more pressing necessity of sustaining Austria against France. How is it possible that they should not see that our possession of Holland is not worth a week's purchase, as soon as Bonaparte has suppressed the armies of Prince Charles and Prince Ferdinand? and do they not know enough of Haugwitz and Lombard, to feel that although a Prussian army marching rapidly to the Danube, might disturb the success of the French campaign, the peaceable progress of the two Prussian negotiators can lead to nothing but some paltry Prussian arrangement respecting the Electorate of Hanover, and the frontiers of Holland? For myself, I am not impatient for news, for I see much indeed to fear, and very very little to hope.

The Duke of Montrose dropped a word which looks like a further prorogation of the meeting of parliament.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Charles Street, Nov. 30, 1805.

The stupid runners of government continue to disgust their hearers with describing what a trap Bonaparte has fallen into by letting himself be drawn away to Vienna. Lord Castlereagh said at dinner yesterday, "that he did not dwell as much as others might upon the capture of Vienna; but that what he really thought bad news, was to have heard of the *feu de joie* at

Boulogne, which might be for having forced the Emperor to a separate peace." I conclude by this judicious remark, that they know this event either has happened, or is now happening.

Lord Harrington went down to Windsor this morning to take leave, being instantly to set out for Vienna, instead of Lord Cathcart; and my reports still are that Lord Cathcart will have the command upon the continent, instead of the Duke of York. But how Lord Harrington is to get at Vienna, and who he is to find when he gets there, and what continent Lord Cathcart is to command upon, and to what effect, is not quite so easily made out.

In the meantime, it is whispered that J. King is to be Irish Secretary, instead of Long.

The 'Victory' is hourly expected with Lord Nelson's body, and with his will, which he wrote on the morning of the action, and which was witnesed by Blackwood and Hardy. I quite agree with you in thinking that much time has been lost in delaying so long to have sent a force into the Mediterranean; and very much did I regret to find that Lewis had returned to Cadiz, as I had flattered myself that Lord Nelson had sent him to look after Naples, Venice, and Trieste. All is now too late.

I approve of your caution upon the subject of my last note; but I have still a strong wish for such a partnership as may operate in check of too feverish opinions, which (as it appears to me) already are too strongly marked in expressions of eternal war, &c., &c.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dropmore, Nov. 30, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I have written to Sir Montagu and his general in conformity to your letter, and referring myself to it. So I suppose we shall hear no more of this foolish business.

It is, I find, much believed in town that the public impression (which certainly is universal) on the subject of the Duke of York's command, has already produced its effect, and that Lord Cathcart is to have the command, and Lord Harrington to be sent, as they call it, to Vienna, but, in reality, to find out where the Austrian army and Court are.

My own belief is rather that these disastrous events have satisfied our governors of the impossibility of sending to the north of Germany, with any prospect of advantage or even of safety, such a force as was before talked of; and that this resolution may also have the more readily been adopted because it furnished so good a solution on the other point, on which neither the King, on the one hand, nor the public on the other, would, I believe, have been found very tractable.

I do not know as to Genoa, but I am confident that Toulon is absolutely unattackable with such a force as you speak of. I should think Cadiz itself much more within reach. But, what would that do, or what indeed would anything of that sort do to relieve so hopeless a situation as that of the Austrians appears to be by these last accounts.

I return you your letter. I do not hear that anything is yet come from Lord Harrowby, but the advance of the French army says all on that subject.

If it is possible, the meeting of parliament will doubtless be put off to the last moment, yet you see it is still publicly prorogued to the 7th. It seems more than likely that by that time the communication to be made to parliament will be that of Austrian peace.

LORD GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 1, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I am to see Fox here on Saturday, and if I can prevail upon Tom to take that day for calling here, (as I have proposed to

him,) in his way to Stowe and Althorp, he will be able to state to you what passes, more fully than can be done by letter—if not you may depend on hearing from me. I find by Fox's letter he is naturally disposed to condemn (without any such reserves as no less naturally suggest themselves to Wyndham and me,) the whole of the late continental measures.

I can hardly conceive it possible that the plan of sending the whole British army to the north of Germany under any command, (whether royal or noble) can now be persisted in. Some of our troops will probably be caught by the frost, and then nothing can protect them but Prussia.

There does not seem the least reason to doubt the fact of the Austrian suspension of arms, and that course is probably adopted rather than the now obvious one of an immediate treaty, in order to enable Austria to save appearances towards Russia and Prussia. We must expect to be left out, and indeed it is better for us that we should, for if we took any part in the negotiation, we should have to buy back Austrian towns and provinces at the expense of British interests.

I am enough disposed to caution on the subject you speak of —we saw enough before of that matter to know that it is one on which too much caution cannot be observed.

I have signed the orders for the sums that complete the whole, both of the army and navy grant; I should hardly think therefore that they can go on beyond the 7th.

Ever yours,

G.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 2, 1805.

My dearest Brother,

I have not yet heard of any confirmation of the Austrian peace, but there is no doubt of the truth of it in this great city, and the sensation made by it is more hostile to government, on

account of the absurd tone of sanguine confidence in which all the Ministers continued to speak up to the very moment in which they received the news from Holland. I am afraid that the second embarkation of troops for Hanover has sailed, and they will probably be left there, and forgotten till the Elbe shall freeze them up, to make a Christmas dinner of them for Bonaparte on his return.

I have just received a letter from William, inclosing one that he has received from Fox, to propose himself at Dropmore, Saturday, and William desires me to come there on Friday.

I have written him word that I have all along entertained so bad an opinion of this business, and think the conduct of it, and the motives which probably led to it so full of blame and reproach to the principal actors in it, that I cannot offer myself as a good counsellor for disguising or sustaining these sentiments; but as he seems to wish me to come, I have promised to go to be a silent hearer of opinions which I had rather listen to than discuss.

MR. T. GRENVILLE TO THE MARQUIS OF BUCKINGHAM.

Dec. 5, 1805.

DEAR BROTHER,

Not a word transpires of Lord Harrowby's despatches, and therefore, I fear they cannot contain anything *decisively* good; but, nevertheless a new confidence has arisen out of the contradiction of the Dutch news; and we all in London feel as if a victory had been gained in the disproving of the Austrian peace.

Lord Cathcart's aide-de-camp tells me that his general and he go to Yarmouth to embark in the 'Venus' for the Weser; and to-morrow, also, Lord Harrington proceeds post-haste to the Imperial Court and army, wherever it may be. I am told that

Prince Charles, in having reached Laybach has gained a point after which it will be difficult for Massena to follow him in his route to Hungary; and it is rather a favourable circumstance to see that the French are hastily fortifying the course of the Lech, because this measure announces their expectation of being obliged, perhaps, to retreat thither.

Pitt goes to Bath to-morrow evening, and Woronzow to Southampton.

END OF VOL. III.

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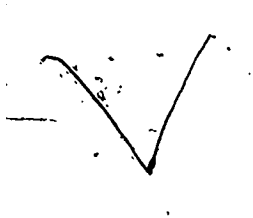

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